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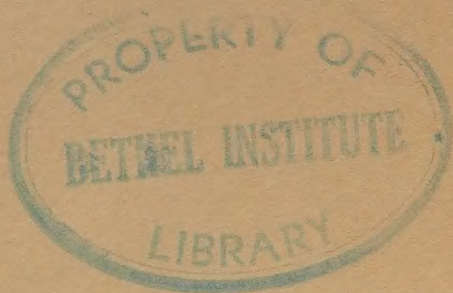


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FROM BABYLON TO BETHLEHEM

From Babylon to Bethlehem

A SURVEY OF
INTERBIBLICAL HISTORY

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Printed in the United States of America

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TO MY STUDENTS
DURING TEN YEARS
SEVEN YEARS AT MERCER UNIVERSITY
AND
THREE YEARS AT THE TRAINING SCHOOL

FOREWORD

There is a growing interest in the study of the events, characters, and changes that belong to the period between the close of Old Testament history and the birth of Christ. The Bible student today wants to fill up the gap at the center of his Bible and learn something of the movements, and their causes, that transpired during the four hundred years between Malachi and Matthew. To that end this little volume is offered, with the author's hope that it may inspire the student to a greater desire to connect the story of the Jews in exile with the picture of Palestine under Roman control.

My first interest in the subject came, naturally, in Seminary days, in the New Testament class of Dr. A. T. Robertson. There is something fascinating about the accounts of Josephus and 1 Maccabees. The reports from the field of excavation have brought new light, new confirmation of the biblical record, and new interest. The attempt to present the historical connection between the Testaments to my Bible classes has called forth this effort to trace in compact form the principal steps in the history of interbiblical times.

In the curriculum of the schools the course in Ancient History belongs to the early years of high school work. Our students pass through college into the seminaries and training schools without any occasion for the review of the early nations. For this reason I have sought to relate the present study to secular history by briefly referring to the outstanding events and characters of the peoples of these early dates, and

by arranging them in parallel columns at the end of each chapter.

The treatment of the books of the Apocrypha is necessarily limited. The attempt has been made merely to suggest their contribution to the development of the national character and thought of the Jew and their bearing upon the doctrinal conceptions that prepared the way for the fulfillment of the living hope,—the coming of the Messiah.

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Louisville, Ky.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD

I. INTRODUCTION: INTERBIBLICAL HISTORY

A LONG PERIOD

Four centuries passed between the promise of Malachi 3: 1 and the fulfillment in Matthew 3: 1. It was approximately 430 B.C. when the last prophet of the old order said, "Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me"; the time represented by "in those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea" is about 29 A.D. The messenger of Jehovah delayed his coming, awaiting the "fulness of the time" for the appearance of the Son of man.

The casual reader of the Bible turns a page between the Old Testament and the New, for the most part unmindful of the number of years which lie between the books, a period of time that is longer by a century than the entire course of the history of America. He finds himself in a new world where everything is different from the old, save the national traditions and the fundamentals of the Hebrew religion.

Into such a period could be packed many important eras, national revolutions, and whole libraries of history. The face of the map might be changed many times in the moving of the bounds of empires and in

the death of old civilizations and the birth of new. The world of the twentieth century is vastly different from that of the sixteenth. The transformation in the countries that were hoary with age four hundred years ago has been as complete as in the life of young republics during the same period. So, more than four centuries mark time while God makes ready to usher in the new order which we know as the Christian Era.

RISE OF JUDAISM

But the Jew survived the upheaval of these years. In fact, *the Jew* came to be. Out of the checkered life of interbiblical history came the Judaism of the New Testament and the Judea of the time of Christ. The remnant of the tribe of Judah, last to leave the old homeland and the sole survivor of national dissolution, will endure the sufferings of exile, and, heartsick because of the tragic consummation of a glorious past, yet abounding in hope for the more glorious future, will return to the City of the Great King to press on in divine mission "till Shiloh come." In many respects it is a new Jew who appears; in other respects it is the old Israelite reformed and revived.

SUMMARY OF CHANGES

Marked changes in Jewish life and circumstances took place during the period between the Testaments. At the close of the Old Testament story Palestine was a part of a Persian satrapy; in the days of Jesus it is a Roman province. Then, a handful of returned exiles under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah struggled with poverty and the surrounding nations on a small plot of ground to restore their ruined city and to rehabilitate their devastated land; now, a densely populated country with terraced hills and crowded cities claims rich merchants, ornate Greek architecture, and

social and political standing in the Empire. The language is no longer the Hebrew of the prophets, but the Aramaic of Babylonian influence. Galilee, Samaria, and Perea, as well as Judea, have come into being. Intermarriage problems of the time of Nehemiah have been settled by the policy of social exclusiveness that is reflected among the Jews of our own day. The Sanhedrin, the synagogue, and the various sects have put in their appearance. There is a new spirit in the hearts of devoted followers of the law of Moses. Immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body have come to full fruition since the days of Job and the Psalms. Idolatry is gone, and in its place stands a holy outlook and a settled conviction regarding the relation of the people to the promises of Jehovah. The Messianic announcement has brought new life, re-echoing the sublime assurances of the prophets and clamoring for realization in the appearance of him who is the Hope of Israel.

SOURCES

The Bible story tells of the Persian emancipation and of the return of three small groups of the exiles to re-establish religious worship amid the precarious life in Judea. In the face of serious opposition the Temple is rebuilt and the walls of the ancient city restored. The reconstruction era calls for social, religious, and economic reforms, and this marks the close of the scripture record, about 425 B.C. The historical elements of much of the Persian period and all of the subsequent periods of interbiblical history must be sought in extra-biblical material. The inscriptions on the monuments that are being brought to light have aided much in understanding national policies and royal achievements under Persian and Egyptian influences. Greek and Latin historians treat of contemporaneous events, with

here and there a direct reference to the persons and circumstances of Palestinian life.

The two principal sources, however, are the writings of Josephus and the books of the Apocrypha. It seems desirable to set forth here some of the particulars concerning the life and works of the Jewish historian in order that an accurate basis of evaluation of the merit and trustworthiness of his writings may be reached. In a similar manner, the central facts about the Apocrypha are given, with some sidelights upon the origin, the forms of literature contained in this volume, and the value of the record. Treatment of special books is given in connection with the period reflected in the account or in the circumstances of the production of each, in accordance with the best information available.

JOSEPHUS

Flavius Josephus was born in A.D. 37 or 38 of priestly descent. His father seems to have been connected with one of the noblest families of the priest-courses, and his mother was a descendant of the Hasmonean house, the Maccabean lineage, which is treated in the following pages. According to his own statement, which must be resorted to for the facts of his life, Josephus was a precocious child, giving advice at the early age of fourteen to the chief priests and principal citizens of Jerusalem concerning questions of the Law. He became a student of the sects of his time—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—and in the study of the last named, spent three years in the desert with one Banus, a hermit, who was a special exponent of the ascetic practices of that group. But his own allegiance was with the Pharisaic party, whose tenets are strongly revealed throughout his writings.

At the age of twenty-six, about A.D. 63, he went to Rome to plead the cause of certain priests who had been imprisoned by Felix and sent to the emperor for trial. Like the Apostle to the Gentiles, he suffered shipwreck and was rescued by a ship which also landed at Puteoli. One wonders if the Jewish historian had any contact with the Christian theologian, who must have been set at liberty from his first Roman imprisonment about the year 63. Edersheim goes so far as to suggest that Paul's liberation may have been the result of Josephus' successful trip. The latter, however, manifests the same silence about Paul, if he did know of his work, that he does regarding all the history of the Christian church.

Back at home he saw that a revolt from Rome was inevitable. He counseled against this step so vigorously that many of the Jews became suspicious of his loyalty. Soon the Jews gained a victory over Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, and this aroused them for further effort at conquering the Romans. Josephus now at the age of thirty was appointed, presumably by the priestly party, to the important post of the command of Galilee. His mission was to dissuade the people there against entering the war. This section, however, was divided in allegiance, and his efforts were looked upon with suspicion by the loyalists. At length, Vespasian, who had been commissioned by Nero to conduct the war, made his way to Galilee. Josephus fell into his hands, but, posing as a prophet and assuring the general that he and his son Titus would be elevated to the position of emperor, he was treated with consideration.

True to this prophecy, Vespasian was made emperor in July 69, following the turbulent disorders in the empire since the death of Nero in June 68, and Josephus

was immediately released. His chains, at Titus' suggestion, were struck off, to indicate that he had been unjustly confined. He is next found in the army of Titus about Jerusalem acting as interpreter and intercessor. He was bitterly hated by the Jews and was suspected of treachery by the Romans. After the capture of the city he was able to save the life of many of his friends, and was given an estate near the city.

His later life was spent in Rome, a man of letters and a friend of emperors, honored with Roman citizenship. He died sometime following the death of Agrippa II, A.D. 100. Eusebius says his statue was erected at Rome and his works were placed in the public library. During these years of leisure in Rome Josephus wrote the four books which have been remarkably preserved for use in the present day, the *Jewish War*, the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and the treatise *Against Apion*.

The story of the *War* is a faithful piece of work with a show of literary skill, approved by many learned men of his day. It was written presumably from notes made while in the army. The account begins with a rapid sketch of national affairs from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Jewish preparations for the great struggle, but the author's purpose is soon realized as the narrative leads on to Roman ambitions and aggressions. Five of the seven chapters paint in lurid pictures the scenes of the overthrow of the city by Titus in A.D. 70. The only defects that the reader will note are a tendency to exaggeration in the numbers listed, a bias toward the superior tactics of the Roman generals, and the rhetorical speeches which he puts in the mouths of the actors,—a practice which was common in that day.

The *Antiquities* is the most ambitious and important work of Josephus, especially in its bearing upon Old

Testament interpretation and interbiblical history. His scheme was to present the history of the nation of Israel from creation down to the outbreak of the Jewish War. His account of the Bible story is based upon the Septuagint translation, supported by quotations from secular historians, such as Nicolaus of Damascus and Hellenistic writers on Jewish history. In the nature of the case, the work is apologetic. It puts the Jews forward in the best light for the sake of the Greek readers. Some of the darker incidents of the Bible are omitted entirely. For picturesqueness the author adds personally invented details. The material is skilfully compiled. Among the suppressed elements are the Messianic portions of the Scriptures. Miracles are often given a natural explanation, or else apologized for by his desire to follow the narrative very closely. Certain details appeal to the student of history, such as the list of high priests from Aaron to the fall of Jerusalem, showing access to the priestly records, and here and there a reference to the decrees that were made granting certain concessions to the Jews, evidently genuine quotations from some valuable documents preserved in archives or incorporated in current history.

It is presumed that the *Life* of Josephus was an afterthought, appended to the *Antiquities* on account of the appearance of a rival history of the Jews by Justus of Tiberias, in which Josephus is accused of being the real cause of the outbreak of the war with Rome. Hence the details of his service in Galilee are stressed. It is the least satisfactory of the author's works.

His work, *Against Apion*, is a reply to criticism of the greater work, the *Antiquities*, and a defense against current prejudices toward the Jewish race. It reveals the anti-Semitism of the first century. It is a real apology for Judaism, carefully planned and well worked

out. There are numerous quotations from authors whose works are lost. The time of its appearance is that of the close of the life of John, the last of the apostles, about A.D. 93.

Various estimates have been made of the trustworthiness of Josephus as a historian. Jerome extolled him as a "Greek Livy," while, on the other hand, some modern critics have accused him of subjectivity and gross misrepresentation. It must be borne in mind, of course, that his work is apologetic. He is set for the defense of Judaism, and he will endeavor to paint the picture of the nation in attractive colors. His work is, on the whole, a skilful compilation and merits the serious inspection of the student. The ultimate value of his contribution will have to rest upon the authenticity of the authorities quoted by him. There is a degree of accuracy and a breadth and comprehensiveness that place him above his predecessors and set him high among the historians of ancient times.¹

THE APOCRYPHA

Apocrypha is the name applied to a number of books, particularly a collection of fourteen, which follow the close of the Old Testament period proper, and reflect something of the history and customs of the times about which we now study. The group and the name are distinctly Protestant, though originating in the history of the Old Testament canon. In general the books may be said to represent the excess of the Latin Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, although Jerome claimed that his translation was a revision of the Old Latin after the Hebrew rather than the Septuagint text. Hence, Romanism followed the Septuagint and Alexandrian Judaism, while Protestantism followed the Hebrew Old Testament and Palestinian

¹After Thackeray in Hastings' D. B.

Judaism. There are variations and different locations of the apocryphal books within the texts of the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Canon of Cyril (the text of the Greek Catholics), but the general principle of origin here stated holds good.

The word *apocrypha* means "hidden things." It was used first in the literal sense,—hidden from the public, an easy accomplishment in the days when copies were few. Two possible motives may be discovered. Some sects who treasured their secret laws, or hidden wisdom, would desire to conceal their peculiar principles from others. Again, devotees of truth as interpreted by a group would desire to take books considered useless or harmful out of the reach of the masses. A combination of these motives might cause some to judge books unfit for public use because of the depth and the difficulty of their contents. The result would be that great value, on the one hand, and great doubt, on the other, would come to be attached to these books.

Probably the value attachment was the more original sense in which the word became current. Certainly the point of view of the wise man in the late wisdom literature of the Old Testament and also in the late prophecies was to discern the "hidden things" (*apocrypha*) of wisdom and of God. (Cf. Is. 8: 16; Dan. 12: 4, 9,—the latter the fundamental passage for the conception of apocrypha.) This idea must have entered Judaism from the mystery religions, the magic rites of heathenism. Hidden things were especially loved in Hellenistic circles. This was Philo's attitude toward the Pentateuch. The Jews carried the idea forward to refer to revelation through visions (Dan. 9). The first chapter of Ezekiel became the favorite study of Jews who loved mysteries. In the great number of books that followed Daniel, in the centuries before and after Christ, the esoteric books

were considered more valuable than the open books (2 Esdras 14: 44-47; Sirach 14: 21; 39: 3, 7; 43: 32). While the adoption of the idea was Pharisaic, in so far as religious party-doctrine was concerned, and a product of the school of the scribes, it was left for the Essenes to give currency to the apocryphal books. Official Judaism rejected them but adopted the conception and applied it to their tradition and *Midrash* (interpretation). The early Christian church found the idea of mysteries, or hidden wisdom, among the Gnostics.

According to the modes of thought of the late scribal period, as demonstrated in the Hagiographa or third main division of the Jewish Scriptures, the Apocrypha shows a variety of types of literature which may be classified according to the following table:²

1. History proper. *1 Maccabees*, ■ trustworthy record of events in the Greek and Maccabean periods.
2. History and story, with illustrative additions.
 - a. *1 Esdras*, containing ■ reworking of chapters 35 and 36 of 2 Chronicles and of parts of Ezra and Nehemiah, together with an additional story of the wisdom of Zerubabel (3: 1-5: 6).
 - b. *Prayer of Manasses*, king of Judah, who was taken captive to Babylon where he repented of his evil course and turned to Jehovah. (Cf. 2 Chron. 33: 10ff.)
 - c. *Additions to Esther*, giving the letter referred to in 3: 13, prayers of Mordecai and Esther at 4: 17, and the decree mentioned in 8: 12.
 - d. *Additions to Daniel*, which is a comprehensive term for three separate writings, as follows: *Song of the Three Holy Children*, ■ prayer and a song of the three companions of Daniel when placed in the fiery furnace (3: 23); *The History of Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon*, two illustrations of the wisdom of Daniel in contrast with that of the Babylonian deities.
 - e. *2 Maccabees*, later Maccabean history, together with certain legendary elements emphasizing Pharisaism.

²After Porter in Hastings' D. B. Cf., also, Robertson's *Syllabus for New Testament Study*, p. 72.

3. New stories with romantic touches, *Tobit* and *Judith*, emphasizing reward for a life of righteousness, and patriotism and ceremonial cleanliness, respectively. (See pages 70, 148.)
4. Moral and religious instruction, or wisdom literature.
 - a. *Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)*, a rather trustworthy picture of Palestinian Judaism during the Greek period. (See page 106.)
 - b. *Wisdom of Solomon*, a Hellenistic development along the same line of Sirach, bringing Greek and Jewish ideas together in an interesting study. (See page 108.)
 - c. *Baruch* and *The Epistle of Jeremy*, a combination of story and prophecy after the order of Daniel.
5. 3 and 4 *Maccabees* are not included in the revised version of the Apocrypha. The former has been termed "a poor example of moralizing under the form of history," and the latter belongs to the Jewish-Alexandrian group of writers who sought to harmonize Jewish revelation with Greek philosophy. The two books add little of importance to the collection of fourteen.

Sirach and 1 *Maccabees* are regarded as the most valuable books of the Apocrypha, but they could not meet the test of canonicity based upon a current conviction that with Malachi prophecy ceased (Mal: 4: 5, 6; Zech. 13: 3; 1 Macc. 4: 46; 9: 27; 14: 41). Apart from *Sirach* and *Wisdom* (Solomon), the books do not claim to be reckoned among the sacred Scriptures. There is no evidence in Jewish literature that they were ever so regarded. Furthermore, there is no record there of a contention for them. Josephus does use 1 *Maccabees*, 1 *Esdras*, and *Additions to Esther* without distinction from the canonical books as historical sources, though he lists only twenty-two books in the Old Testament canon, which was evidently complete before his time. In later rabbinical writings there are many citations from *Sirach*, and they are as of Scripture. As source material for these studies, therefore, we may rely upon the data of 1 *Maccabees*, not as coming with the authority of the historical books of the Old Testament, but as a reliable chronicle of events during the patriotic times

of those heroes of Judah. The other books may serve to aid us to see the effect of foreign customs, the appearance of Grecian cultural ideas, and the development of politico-religious parties in Judaism which have bearing upon the time of Christ.

OUR POINT OF VIEW

Having viewed with some detail the two principal sources of the study of interbiblical history, one may be induced to question the value of this painstaking investigation of events in the Jewish Dark Age. Why seek to bring together the scattered threads of the story of a few thousand Jews who maintained national and racial separateness after their glowing Golden Age had been long buried? The study is important, not primarily as a sad sequel to Old Testament history, but as an introduction to the life of the Messiah and to Christianity. How did all the new elements in the Judaism of New Testament times come to be? Hence, our point of view is that of preparation for the coming of Christ; our aim is the heralding of the King. This period, when the revelation of God was exceedingly "precious," when the lamp of spiritual illumination burned low amid the despair of a people who had seen the glories of Solomon's Temple, and who yet rejoiced in every prophecy bearing upon the future unfolding of divine favor, was the dark hour before the dawn of the "Day of Jehovah," when Israel would be exalted above her enemies, and the Desire of All Nations would fulfil the dreams of pious souls through long ages past. Our endeavor shall be to keep before us this crowning event.

DIVISIONS OF THE HISTORY

The history naturally divides itself into periods which are determined by the governmental control of Judea and the religious and political privileges accorded the

Jews by their sovereigns. The following divisions are observed :

1. Persian Period, B.C. 536-333.
2. Greek Period, 333-167.
 - a. Ptolemaic 333-198.
 - b. Seleucid 198-167.
3. Maccabean Period, 167-63
4. Roman Period, 63-4 (or A.D. 70.)

The Period of the Exile, or Babylonian Period (587-536), is a part of the Old Testament story, as is the Persian decree of release by Cyrus the Great. But in order to understand the movements among the nations whose history is closely interwoven with that of the Jews, it seems desirable to include a review of the circumstances connected with the exile and a glimpse into world affairs at the time of the fall of Jerusalem (587). The story, therefore, relates itself to contemporary world events from about 600 B.C.

II. THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD, B.C. 587-536

OCCASION OF THE EXILE

The glory period of Old Testament history had occurred in the distant past, during the reigns of David and Solomon. These two kings, by military prowess and the genius of organization and administration, had extended the bounds of the nation Israel until it reached its widest extent, receiving tribute from the nations on the east and south, holding in check the ever-restless Philistines on the west, making successful war on the Arameans of the north, and looming on the horizon of history as the greatest nation whose annals have come down to us from that era.

In religious prestige the nation was recognized as the chosen people of Jehovah. The name and fame of Israel brought honor to the name of their God. His

favor rested upon David in such way as to impress his subjects with the idea that the highest spiritual expectation would be realized in the "Son of David." In Solomon the divine wisdom found such expression as to attract royalty from near and far. Tribute poured into the coffers of the king of Judah. A temple arose by the side of a luxurious palace, both as emblems of material prosperity and of divine favor, the fulfillment of a covenant with the patriarchal founders of the race, and the tokens of future glories for a people who should be true to the revealed will of God.

But disobedience and apostasy, division and ruin, soon appeared. The luxury of an oriental court and the marriage alliances with the neighboring nations brought idolatry and disloyalty and rebellion. Only two tribes followed the banner of the son of Solomon upon his announcement of a continuation of the policies of his father. The ten tribes gave assent to the break-up of the national unity, and, of far greater consequence, to the severance of connection with the religious capital, the Temple ritual, and ultimately to the abandonment of Israel's God; and entered upon a period of spiritual decline that ended in 722 B.C. in the fall of their capital, Samaria, and the overthrow of their kingdom.

Assyria's policy regarding the subject nations was to deport rebellious peoples and scatter them among other less seditious groups, and to import foreigners to take their places back home. In Samaria, the few country people left behind were submerged in the mongrel race that greets the student of the New Testament as Samaritans. The tribes of Israel, distributed throughout Assyria, became so assimilated that all trace of them has been lost. Perhaps many families of these *lost tribes* maintained their racial identity through the long captivity; probably some of their descendants returned

to Jerusalem in 536 with the tribe of Judah; others adopted the customs of their captors and learned to prefer the land of commerce and trade, with peace, to their homeland of sacred traditions and endless distress. But the amalgamation was so complete that no connection between them and any people or nation can be traced.

Judah lasted for a hundred and thirty-five years longer than Israel. Here the religious devotion of the people had been truer, due perhaps to the national traditions that centered in the Holy City, Jerusalem. David's influence, and the covenant promise of Jehovah that the great king's descendants should sit on the throne forever, together with the guiding hands of loyal priests and zealous prophets, held the people to their faith until the beginning of the sixth century.

Assyrian ambition in the Westland continued to affect the peace and welfare of Judah until her power was broken by the new Babylonian kingdom. The army of Nebuchadnezzar was soon on the plains of Palestine in the place of the great Sennacherib. But a weaker king than Hezekiah was on the throne of a nation fast tottering to ruin. The sins of Judah had mounted higher and higher. External pressure and internal decay brought the end. Jerusalem fell in 587. Her best citizens were carried into exile. The deportation served the double purpose of Nebuchadnezzar in making rebellion impossible and in providing skilled artisans for his scheme of the rehabilitation of Babylon.

NATURE OF THE EXILE

The policy of Babylonian kings was different from the Assyrian in that, while captive peoples were removed from their native settlements, they were not scattered promiscuously throughout the realm, but were

grouped, or colonized, and allowed a certain amount of national recognition and religious privilege. The word *captivity*, applied to the plight of the ten tribes, has accordingly been softened to *exile* in the story of the two tribes, and sometimes to a reference to mere *deportations* of the Jewish people.

It seems clear from Ezekiel and Jeremiah that the condition of the exiles was not one of great oppression. It cannot be compared with the former bondage in Egypt nor with much of the later persecution meted out to their descendants in many parts of Europe. Many thousands aided in the building operations, and others found enforced service in the imperial army, but the great mass of the people were allowed to settle peaceably in their own homes and upon land of their own possession (Ezek. 3: 24; 33: 30). Something of their ancient tribal system seems to have been perpetuated, and they preserved the old genealogies with such care as to mark the Aaronic priesthood and the Davidic line of descent. The position of Daniel and his three friends at court, and the release and honor of Jehoiachin indicate a liberal attitude upon the part of the king which must have kept down the racial clashes that were apt to occur among the heterogeneous subject nations.

There was, also, a marked degree of religious liberty. The notable exception of Nebuchadnezzar's edict concerning the universal worship of the great image, as recorded in Daniel, was more of political intrigue than religious animosity. Removed as they were from the Temple altar, the Jews could not carry on their animal sacrifices, but they still had the services of the priests, and the observance of the ceremonies of their law, particularly in regard to the Sabbath, circumcision, and fasting, came to have larger and richer significance. The synagogue service of prayer and scripture read-

ing, an institution that has played so vital a part in their subsequent history, was a product of the exilic period. Many of the Jews probably lapsed into heathenism through this ready environment, but we know for a certainty that a pious remnant, purged of the dross of idolatry, returned with glowing faith in Jehovah and in their own destiny to the ruined city at the close of the seventy-year period.

In the realm of literature there was a quickening of interest in the preservation of their sacred books, as well as the production in this time of stress of several prophetic rolls, such as Ezekiel and Jeremiah. That some of the Psalms reflect the sorrows of the exiles and were, therefore, written in Babylon is highly probable. The authorship and date of other books which reflect the thought and circumstances of the times remain unsettled, but we may be sure that the exile contributed at least its share of the literary activity of the Israelites.

Trade and commerce took the place of agricultural interests largely, and this brought material comforts and wealth. The condition of the deported, therefore, was in marked contrast with the poverty-stricken who had been left in the homeland. The Jews of the Diaspora, in Babylonia as well as in Egypt, entered into those economic and industrial pursuits that were to transform them as a race from humble shepherds or petty farmers on the Judean hills into the money sharks and masters of finance in the great centers of the world.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXILE

The Bible dwells upon the fact that this national calamity was the result of sin, particularly disobedience to the law of God as expressed in the decalogue. The great requirement of Jehovah was, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." This was announced and

impressed upon them during the formative period of their separate existence as a people. Before they entered the promised land of Canaan, they were warned by the great lawgiver in his farewell discourses that their refusal to obey this fundamental law would bring banishment and destruction. The danger was repeated "through every prophet and every seer" during the course of their history. Calamity befell them in many ways, but the feeling that Jehovah would not cast them off utterly was associated in their minds with the impregnable position of their capital and the presence in their midst of the Temple of God with its symbols of his power over all nations.

Now the Temple was in ruins and the Holy City only a relic of its former glory. The source of their pride had been swept away. It was the execution of divine judgment. The "Day of Jehovah" had become "darkness and not light." Their unfaithfulness to God had returned upon their own heads, as the prophets had said. Fitful, spasmodic reform had not sufficed. The time of visitation had now come.

On the other hand, this experience was educative as well as punitive. It was to fit the Jews for their unique mission and destiny. The king of Babylon was Jehovah's servant, executing his decrees and bringing the divine discipline upon an errant son. Israel must be purified by isolation. Spiritual freedom must be learned in political servitude. The priestly nation must be consecrated through suffering. Out of this sifting process will come moral revolution, the loss of selfish pride and spiritual insincerity, the establishment of a new ideal of faith and holiness, and the preparation for the task that awaited the holy remnant in supplying the religious background for a world Saviour.

PROPHETIC FUNCTION DURING THE EXILE

For the lessons to be learned by the sufferers from their detention in a foreign land and from the sad plight of their national confusion we are indebted to Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jeremiah, and to some of the minor prophets. The leadership of the people fell upon the prophets exclusively. Kings were no more, and the priesthood was cut off from the exercise of its usual functions. Great prophets had appeared during other crises of the nation's history, and with statesmanship and divine leadership had piloted the ship of state through the periods of stress and uncertainty. Now, also, God's men are on hand to declare his message alike to those who hang their harps in mute sorrow upon the willows of Babylon, and to those who are buffeted by evil circumstance in Judea or in Egypt.

Fortunately for them and for us the times were not wanting in great men. Daniel maintained a position of national greatness as one of the viceroys of Babylonia, a friend of the king, a close observer of tendencies about the court, personal revealer of providential control, a great city pastor mediating between the great king of earth and the high tribunal of heaven in the interest of a new kingdom, "a stone cut out of the mountain" that was destined to fill the earth. Ezekiel, the country pastor, living down by the river Chebar close to the heart of the people, was warning, comforting, inspiring them with his visions of the glory about the throne of God, and interpreting their calamity in such way as to point to a new nationalism, through individual worth, in a beneficent, life-giving mission to the peoples of all generations. Jeremiah, also, the prophet of consolation to the eye-witnesses of the destruction of Jerusalem, was bearing much the same message to the scattered remnant of those who wavered between uncertain revelation

and hopeless despair. His letter to the exiles (29: 5-14) is filled with comfort and good cheer, and with loving counsel concerning their manner of life and their spiritual attitudes until the end of the seventy years when God would turn their mourning into joy.

As a further buttress to their sagging hopes one feels that the great Book of Comfort, the closing chapters (40-66) of the prophecy of Isaiah, "the fervid evangelist of the Old Testament," was certainly efficacious and vitalizing for the faint-hearted at this time. Jehovah was the one true God. The idols were vanities, the work of human hands. Soon the bondage would be past. The Suffering Servant would come bearing the sicknesses of human kind and healing them through his own stripes.

CONDITIONS IN JUDAH, 587-536

In the meantime, the people who had been left behind in Judah toiled along amid the ruins, trying to eke out a living, maintaining a form of government under the control of Babylon, and threatening to abandon their homes for the haven offered in Egypt. Gedaliah had been placed in charge, with the seat of government at Mizpah. Many Jews who had taken refuge in Moab and Ammon during the troublous days now returned to Judah. Ishmael of the seed royal, commander of a body of Jewish troops that roamed the country, plotted the death of the governor. In this he seems to have been guided by the ambition of the king of the Ammonites to get control of the land, as well as by his own jealousy that he had been set aside from the ruling position. Johanan saw the danger and warned Gedaliah, but his counsel was unheeded. After the death of the governor Johanan took matters in charge and led the attack on Ishmael. But fearing the wrath of the king of Babylon

upon the remnant of Jews, he determined to carry them to Egypt, even against the revelation of God through Jeremiah. These incidents occurred within a few months following the fall of Jerusalem. Apparently the land was now utterly desolate and uninhabited. Josephus says the country was "desert for seventy years." He offers no other statement that would throw light upon any activity in Judah. The historian and the prophet will allow the empty desolation to bear its mute testimony to the certain consequences of sin and to the justice of God.

III. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

THE FALL OF NINEVEH

The fall of Jerusalem followed within twenty-five years the fall of Nineveh. Assyria, which had brought the hand of destiny to Damascus and Samaria, and which had been deterred by divine intervention from meting out the same fate to Jerusalem, was forced to yield her scepter to new powers on the south and east. Jonah had revealed his narrow-minded patriotism by weeping over Israel's age-old enemy as she repented in sackcloth and ashes; Nahum had uttered the cry of outraged humanity in his pathetic appeal that Nineveh must be destroyed. The oppressor and the oppressed alike pay the penalty for failure. In the annals of nations the occasion for the downfall is found in the new kingdom of Babylonia that now rises about the ancient city of Babylon. The final test of strength between the powers came in 605 at Carchemish. Nineveh had yielded seven years before (612), but the old fighting spirit had rallied about a new capital at Harran. The final battle was one of the great decisive battles of history.

MEDIA

Back of the ambitions of Babylon, which for a century had jealously eyed her mistress higher up the valley, stood the ever-threatening kingdom of Media. She was the stronger and the aggressor. From her capital at Ecbatana to the north and east she carried on wars of conquest against the outlying districts until she had developed an empire, and then turned her attention to Assyria on the west. While joining forces with the revolting Babylonians to accomplish the death of Assyria, Media was also, through close racial connection, making a home for a youth who would soon enter upon his own career as Cyrus the Great, king of Persia.

EGYPT

Allied with Assyria in her death throes was hoary Egypt. These nations, which had tugged at each other's throats for centuries and which had contested in innumerable conflicts for the possession of Palestine and the East, find their masters in the confederation of Media and Babylonia. Egypt was only a shadow of her former self. Pharaoh-necho yielded to Babylon as his father Psamtik I had done to Assyria (2 Kings 23: 29). Apries, the Hophra of the Old Testament, attempted to aid Zedekiah while the Babylonian troops besieged Jerusalem (Jer. 37: 5-7), but was forced to withdraw. Psamtik III was defeated by Cambyses, the Persian, at Pelusium in 525, and Egypt became a Persian province. Thus, for a long period tribute flowed from the Nile country into the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates as the East was able to keep the South under subjection.

LYDIA

Another very old kingdom was in the heyday of her glory during the first half of the sixth century B.C.

Tradition says Lydia was seven hundred years older than Media. Three dynasties of thirty kings had ruled there. The wealth of the country became proverbial from the beginning of the seventh century. Sardis, the capital, was a rich and luxurious city. The Greek colonists of Asia Minor were for a long time tributary to this mistress of the West.

PEACE IN THE EAST

There was peace at this time among these three nations of the Orient, due to a triple alliance signed in 610 between Nabopolassar of Babylon, Alyattes of Lydia, and Cyaxares of Media. "Aryemis, daughter of Alyattes and sister of Cræsus, was married to Astyages, crown prince of Media; and Amyitis, sister of Astyages, was wedded to Nebuchadnezzar, heir apparent to the throne of Babylonia."³ For more than five hundred years, the historian tells us, there had not been such an epoch of quiet as that which followed this treaty.

GREECE

Across the Ægean sea from Lydia lay the little country of Greece, destined to play a leading role upon the stages of three continents, and by her art, literature, philosophy, and general culture, to bring the world to her feet in recognition of a greatness unsurpassed in either hemisphere. The sixth century B.C. finds the Amphictyonic Council, of ancient origin, in charge of all those elements, religious, social, and political, that existed for the creation and fostering of the pan-Hellenic spirit. Under its auspices were promoted the Pythian games and the other festivals that dated from the Epoch of the Olympiads (776), the Year One of Grecian chronology, when myth and tradition give place

³Ridpath, *History of the World*, Vol. 1, p. 231.

to historic accuracy. This council of representatives had its seat at Delphi, where it guarded the influence of the oracle and temple, and settled territorial disputes among the twelve city-states.

Sparta had made herself mistress of the Peloponnesus by overcoming her rivals, first Argos, then Messina. Corinth will appear later as a great commercial center in southern Greece. The story of Athens in this period is the account of her first citizen, Solon, who in 594 was appointed to revise its laws. To take care of four levels of society and political privilege, the great law-giver provided for the Areopagus, the Senate, the Ecclesia or public assembly, and the Heliaea or law courts—the chief officers and bodies of Athenian democracy. During his voluntary exile in the next ten years (572-562) he made the traditional visit to the wealthy Cræsus of Lydia, where he was shown all the king's treasures. The philosopher was asked whom he considered the happiest man he had ever seen. Solon, in reply, named two obscure Greeks who were unknown to the Lydian, adding that no man can well be accounted happy until the end of his life. Later, when this kingdom was conquered by Cyrus and the king was about to be burned to death, he was heard to call the name of Solon in tragic memory of the words of the sage. When explanation was made to Cyrus, he was so impressed that he ordered Cræsus to be liberated and made him his friend.

The power of royalty was fast passing away among the city-states, except in Sparta, and in the king's stead appeared, first, the archonship, the rule of a few nobles (oligarchy), leaders without kingly authority and yet in position of superior race and culture. Following them came the era of the *Tyranny*, or rule of an individual nobleman, and in rapid development, the

democracy. The period of the *Tyrant* in Athens is well represented by the usurper Pisistratus (560-527), who took special interest in the condition of the poor, adorned Athens with public buildings, encouraged art and literature, established the first public library and collected the Homeric poems, a feat for which all posterity has honored his name.

GREEK COLONIES

Meanwhile, Asia Minor had been settled by Greek colonists, known better by their ethnic names of Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians. These settlements had been conquered by Cræsus in the early part of his reign (560-546), and were subject to his authority until his overthrow by Persia. The temple of Artemis (Diana) was rebuilt at this time. The Age of Epic Poetry comes to a close and Thales of Miletus was introducing the Greek world to the foundations of philosophy. Other colonies had been planted on the islands of the Mediterranean and along the shores of southern Italy.

ROME

Roman history of the seventh century is vague and legendary. The destruction of Rome by the Gauls in the fourth century removed the ancient records, and students today are in doubt concerning the names of reputed kings. To Tarquinius (Priscus) is ascribed a glorious reign (616-578). Etruria was forced to recognize his supremacy. He is credited with laying out the Circus Maximus, the institution of the Roman games, the foundation of the Capitoline temple, and the construction of the magnificent cloacæ (sewers). The reign of Servius Tullius (578-534) is marked by the reorganization of Roman society known as the Servian Reform of the Constitution. This gave the

plebeians political independence and made property rather than birth the basis of political influence. This was offensive to the patricians and paved the way for the great military struggles between the two classes.

BABYLON'S GLORY AND DECLINE

Nebuchadnezzar died in 561, after an active reign of forty-three years. As a military and political genius he had organized and administered the powerful Babylonian government. He had been a great builder, making his capital city famous throughout the ancient world for the temples to the gods, the royal palace, the hanging gardens, and the extensive quays along the river bank. Babylon's language became the language of diplomacy throughout southwest Asia and in Egypt. The trade routes of the rich Tigris and Euphrates valleys passed through the city. Though a king of exacting authority, Nebuchadnezzar was considerate of his subjects. According to his inscription he was also of a strong religious spirit. The Bible indicates a tolerant attitude toward the religion of Daniel and hints of a liberal and magnanimous personality that was exceedingly rare in his day. The proud king boasted of no rival comparable to the "head of gold" in his idle dream of the greatness and permanence of his empire.

But his kingdom fell into the weak hands of an unworthy son, known to us by the name of Evil-merodach (2 Kings 25: 27), who was controlled neither by respect for law nor a sense of personal decency. The Old Testament does, however, attribute to him the paroling of Jehoiachin, former king of Judah, who had been brought away in the second deportation, 597.

The priestly party grew tired of the royal weakling and arranged for his assassination after about three years' reign. Neriglissar, his brother-in-law and suc-

cessor, an officer at the siege of Jerusalem (Nergal-sharezer of Jer. 39: 3), was a strong character and sought to carry on the policies of Nebuchadnezzar. His successful reign was short, however, and following a brief interim during which his son proved his inability to cope with the problems of state, the priestly party again named its representative in the person of Nabonidus, probably a trusted general and of priestly descent.

Many tablets have been unearthed which throw light upon his record and upon the commercial methods and social life under the eyes of the exiles from 555 to 538. He, too, was a great builder. His religious zeal was expressed in the rebuilding of two great temples which had fallen into decay. He thus honored the ancient deities of Babylon, but in doing this seems to have been less considerate of the gods who had been exalted and worshiped at the later period. The wrath of the authorities was now turned against him. The religious element became alienated, and a great unrest prevailed throughout the land, while the king turned his attention away from military prowess and the protection of the realm to satisfying various factions representing national deities. Belshazzar, his first born son, is named in several inscriptions, and as associated with his father appears in the story of Daniel to receive the interpretation of the handwriting on the wall and to hear the pronouncement of Babylon's doom.

Glancing backward over the period, with the aid of the chart below, we note that while Jerusalem is passing through the period and process of overthrow during the first part of the sixth century B.C., and while Nebuchadnezzar is reigning as the proud monarch of the East, the two kingdoms destined to play the largest parts in the drama of the ancient and medieval world are preparing the stage setting and rehearsing their

lines for a mammoth performance of artistic and legalistic splendor. In Greece, Athens has already turned her attention to the development of the city-state into a democratic model of political control and patriotic loyalty that will undo the despotism of the Orient. Sparta has become the mistress of the southern peninsula, and in the calculating, measured tread of a conqueror, looks aspiringly toward the domains of her sister city and the vast stretches of the west land. In the far west, her origin shrouded in the mystery of legend and tradition, Rome is laying the foundations of great buildings which will one day adorn the capital of the world, and is beginning the adjustment of the social differences between her nobles and her common people that will later cement them into the character known as the Roman citizen.

BABYLONIAN PERIOD

(TIME OF EXILE)

B.C.	JUDAH	BABYLONIA	OTHER NATIONS
610		Triple Alliance between Babylonia , Media , and Lydia (Half century of peace).	
605	Jerusalem captured by Nebuchadnezzar	Death of Nabopolassar	
	First Deportation Daniel	Battle of Carchemish Assyria and Egypt submit to Babylonia and Media	End of Assyrian Empire (Nineveh fell 612)
598	Second Deportation Ezekiel	Nebuchadnezzar in power (604-562)	Greece: Sparta, mistress in the south.
587	Jerusalem destroyed	Babylon beautified	Athens, Age of Solon, 594 on.
	Third Deportation Jeremiah carried into Egypt	Daniel and Ezekiel	Pisistratus (560-510) Greek Colonies in Asia Minor subject to Lydia (c 560)
		Nabonidus (555-538) Religious confusion	
		Unrest	Rome (The Kingdom): Reign of Tarquinius I (616-578) Great Buildings
	Judah desolate	Belshazzar Regent	Reign of Servius Tullius (578-534) Servian Reforms
		Close of Daniel's ministry	
538		Cyrus conquers Babylon	Cyrus conquers Media (553) and Lydia (546)



CHAPTER 2

THE PERSIAN PERIOD

THE PERSIAN PERIOD

B.C. 536-333

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND. Fall of Babylon.

1. Cyrus the Great. Conquests. Return of the Jews.
2. Cambyses. Invasion of Egypt.
3. Darius Hystaspis. Rebellion. Conquest of Europe. Jerusalem Temple Dedicated.
4. Xerxes. War with Greece. Esther. Jews in Babylon. Jews in Egypt.
5. Artaxerxes Longimanus. Revolt of Egypt. Ezra and Nehemiah.
6. Persian Decline. Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes II. Ochus. Codomanus.

II. SPIRITUAL ATTAINMENTS UNDER PERSIAN INFLUENCE.

1. Idolatry Destroyed. Exclusiveness. Samaritan Schism.
2. Respect for Law of Moses. Scribism. Influence of High Priest.
3. Public Worship Established. Exilic Worship. Synagogue.
4. Messianic Hope. The Idea. Development. Apocalyptic Literature.
5. Other Influences. Doctrines. Language. Institutions. Literature: *Tobit*.

III. COTEMPORARY HISTORY.

1. Movements in Greece following the Persian War. Delian League. Age of Pericles. Peloponnesian War.
2. The Early Roman Government. Last of the Kings. The Republic. Plebeian Protests.

CHAPTER II

THE PERSIAN PERIOD

B.C. 536-333

I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

FALL OF BABYLON

The story of the overthrow of Babylon by changing the course of the river, as told by Herodotus, has been set aside by the student of the Orient as one of the interesting fables emanating from this mysterious land during the legendary days of a long past. The explanation now given to the sudden capitulation of the ancient stronghold is the welcome to a change of government and of royal policy offered by the new conqueror from the North, because of the religious disturbances and general restiveness occasioned by the attitude of Nabonidus toward the Babylonian deities.

What was the position of the Jews in the changing order? There is little light, to be sure, but it is not improbable that the widespread disaffection reached them as well. Perhaps the conditions of life were harder since Nebuchadnezzar's death. Perhaps the religious privileges of foreign settlers were abbreviated, at least brought under suspicion, during this administration. Perhaps racial hatred, such as is manifest in the story of Esther, was aroused and aggravated at this time. Too, the loyal Jews remembered Jeremiah's prediction concerning seventy years, and this time was nearly up. The times were portentous. Probably the release of the Jews was conditioned upon the disruption of the

empire. The fall of Babylon would be the sign of victory and promise fulfilled. Let the good day come; down with the government!

CYRUS THE GREAT, 536-529

The one to whom this important mission was given is Cyrus the Great, the new leader who now appears in the record of these ancient nations. The accounts of his origin are obscure. The Greek historians wavered between several traditions, and, in uncertainty, pictured the young prince as the ideal conqueror. He seems to appear first at the court of Astyages, of Media. The Medes and the Persians represented a common racial stock, and the relation between the last of the Median kings and the founder of the Persian dynasty must have been very close. In his own records of a later date, he traces his royal ancestry back to the third generation (Achemedes, reputed founder of the Persian Empire), and reveals his claims to the kingship of the "city of Anshan (Elam)" and to the favor of Bel and Nebo.

CONQUESTS

The Median kingdom at once surrendered, and was absorbed in the domains of the aspirant to a world empire. It was in 549 B.C. that the seven-walled Ecbatana recognized Cyrus as "the great king." Other successes followed rapidly. Persia was added to his territory, then Lydia and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and finally Babylon (538). Susa was retained as one of the capitals of his enlarged possessions.

Both from the record of Cyrus and from that of Nabonidus we learn that Babylon fell without a battle. The only resistance to the invasion was by the people of Akkad. Thence the way was open into the city. "The reception of the army is equaled only by the liberty

which was announced for the whole city," says Price.¹ The faithful devotees of Bel and Nebo transferred their loyalties at once from Nabonidus, who had neglected the deities, to the one who revered the Great Gods of Babylon.

The historians lavish their praise upon the character of Cyrus. His success in building up the great Persian Empire was probably due more to his shrewd policy than to exceptional moral greatness. He determined to undo the mistake of deporting subject nations from their homes as the Assyrians and Babylonians had done. He opened the gates of Babylon and bade these peoples return to their native lands. He became the promoter of the welfare of his various subjects. He was an Aryan with freer ideas of governmental control than had characterized the Semitic mind and custom. These things naturally gave him great influence and power over the nationalities represented within his borders, and he was hailed as deliverer and friend.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the rise of Cyrus is vividly foretold in the writings of Isaiah. In the great Book of Comfort the exiles were assured that their sufferings would soon cease; they would return to their homes and would rebuild the devastated land (44: 26f). This would be accomplished by "Jehovah's Shepherd" who would perform the divine pleasure. Cyrus is definitely named as the agent through whom the deliverance would be brought about (45: 1, 4f). As a necessary step in this program, Babylon must fall. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah had signified this in no uncertain terms (Isa. 47: 1, 5, 13, 15; Jer. 50 and 51).

This generosity and liberalism of the great king have special bearing upon the story of Judaism in the decree

¹*Monuments and the O. T.*, p. 373.

that is now issued for the release of the Jews, with the privilege of returning to their beloved country. Back of this fact, so significant in the plans of divine providence, may be detected some reasons on the plane of the natural and political outlook that appealed to Cyrus. It is hardly true that he had turned monotheist or Zoroastrian. He is rather revealed as a polytheist of a pronounced type. His plan was a definite national policy. It must have affected many subject peoples as it did the Jews. "All of these peoples I assembled and restored to their dwelling places" (Cylinder 32).² It is probable that some devout Jew in Babylonia, perhaps the aged Daniel, called the king's attention to the prophecies that bore reference to him. Again, it is worth noting, Palestine had been a sort of buffer-state between Asia and Africa. Ambition toward Egypt would require a well-satisfied people at the halfway station. Kindness toward this people in the reconstruction of their state would pave the way for the successful invasion of the ever attractive Southwest.

So, very soon after the settlement in Babylon, the royal decree was issued in favor of the Jews. Elaborate provisions were contained in it for the rebuilding of the Temple and for the establishment of the worship of Jehovah (Ez. 1: 1-8). Some fewer than 50,000 accepted the proffered boon and soon turned their faces homeward. The day of calamity had passed. Many wonderful promises of the prophets had been fulfilled. God had been faithful to keep his word, and the "holy remnant," under royal favor and divine blessing, moved out of Babylon, keeping step to the rhythm of some glad pilgrim Psalm that extolled the glories of Jehovah and the charm of the holy city.

²Price, *Op. Cit.*, *Opp.* p. 370.

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her skill.
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I remember thee not;
If I prefer not Jerusalem
Above my chief joy." (Ps. 137 : 5f.)

With such enthusiasm the returning exiles went forward with their plans to renew the worship of Jehovah. Zerubbabel and Joshua were the leaders, the former representing royalty and the latter the priesthood (Ezra 3: 2). An altar was set up and worship was resumed, both the daily ministrations and the regular annual feasts. After a season, definite plans were made for the erection of the Temple. The foundation was laid amid great rejoicing. For those who had known the glory of the former structure, there was heaviness of heart; but the spirit of achievement was thoroughly aroused, and the little community seemed determined to complete the task in spite of opposition.

Continual interruption, however, finally took effect. The noble sentiment that inspired the return was soon chilled both by the hostility of the neighbors and by the sheer desolation of the land. It had been just fifty years since the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, but old enemies had encroached upon the territory until but little remained. The Philistines on the west had reasserted their longing for the hill-country; the Edomites had laid hands upon the ancient capital at Hebron, and the rich grazing lands that reached up the long valleys from the south; the Moabites and Ammonites cherished a hatred of a thousand years' duration and claimed the fertile Jordan valley; on the north, the mongrel race of Samaritans turned their religious and commercial jealousy against the efforts of the new-old kingdom to reestablish itself on the plains of Judea. The territory actually embraced in the settlement was

small, possibly only about twenty-five miles square. So, in the face of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, the building operations ceased for a number of years.

CAMBYSES, 529-522

Cambyses was the son and successor of Cyrus. The record of his achievements carries no mention of the Jews, nor is his name recorded in the story of the Jewish settlement. His brief reign is characterized by the invasion of Egypt, which was a part of the original dream of his father. The excuse given for the attack on Egypt was the support that Pharaoh Amasis had given Cræsus against Cyrus. But Cræsus was now dwelling in peace at the court of Persia, and the pretext appeared without warrant. The occasion was found when Cambyses sought the hand of the daughter of Pharaoh in marriage, and a maiden, not of the royal family, a princess only by proxy, was imposed upon him. Allied with the Persian were the Arab chiefs of the Syrian desert and the naval forces of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The victory of the fleet at Pelusium prepared the way for the approach of the army. Memphis, the capital, was taken and Psamtik, who succeeded Amasis, was made to recognize the authority of Persia. The ambition of Cambyses, however, was not satisfied until he foolishly undertook to capture the Oasis of Amun in the desert and to master Ethiopia in the far south. He had given up his desire to match arms with distant Carthage only when the Phœnicians refused to accompany him against their daughter-colony. The sands of the desert wiped out every trace of the 50,000 sent to Amun, and the remnant under Cambyses was forced to turn back from the southern march toward Ethiopia. In disappointment and anger the conqueror wrought vengeance on

the exulting Egyptians. Psamtik and the nobles were slain, and Egypt was left in ruins.

While returning from Egypt he learned that an usurper by the name of Gomates had impersonated the king's brother Smerdis, who had been secretly slain by Cambyses, and was now reigning in the king's stead. Harassed by failure abroad and by new foes at home, the Persian leader took his own life. The only accomplishment accredited to him is the building of the royal palace at Susa. Tradition says he imported artisans from Egypt to give Persia the beginnings in architecture.

DARIUS HYSTASPIS, 521-486

Following the eight months' reign of this Pseudo-Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis was elevated to the throne. It was his lot to repress rebellions in all parts of the realm. Persian control was challenged from one end of the empire to the other, but a true successor of Cyrus the Great was in power. The devotees of the old Magian faith had supported the usurper; now there was a restoration of the Zoroastrian religion of Persia proper. The government was revolutionized by the appointment of satraps over the subject nations. Darius also established post houses and roads and a new system of coinage. His record of the repression of revolt as found on the Behistun rock has given to the modern world, through Rawlinson and others, the key to the Persian and Babylonian cuneiform writing, a discovery that has been most valuable to the student of archeology.

INVASION OF EUROPE

In the matter of conquest, his invasion of Europe, by way of Scythia to Thrace and Macedonia, was of great

consequence. Long afterwards, Alexander the Great will arise to avenge humiliation of his country in acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia. It was not long, however, until the city of Miletus, aided by the Greek towns in Asia Minor, dared to throw off the yoke of Persia. Athens agreed to help. But the movement was one of rashness rather than bravery. One after another the towns yielded to the onslaughts of the Persians. Miletus was retaken and her citizens were led away into the Eastland. Cyprus was retaken. Athens must be punished. The great king, it is said, employed a secretary to repeat each morning in the monarch's ear, "Sire, remember Athens."

And Darius remembered Athens. He first coaxed the goodwill of the Greek towns by giving them the freedom for which they had fought, and dismissed the satraps who had tyrannized them. Thrace and Macedonia acknowledged their tributary relations. It appeared that the whole country would be speedily conquered. But a storm destroyed the fleet off Mt. Athos, and this so demoralized the leaders that the main expedition was postponed. Two years later at Marathon was fought "that first battle that gave freedom and immortality to the Greek race." Outnumbered ten to one the Greeks routed the Persian army and hurled it back into Asia. A third expedition was planned, but the revolt of Egypt and the king's death deferred the scheme.

THE TEMPLE DEDICATED

Meanwhile the work dragged at Jerusalem. The opposition had discouraged the builders and the house had not been completed. About 520, fifteen years after the return, while Cambyses was still in Egypt, two Jewish prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, were raised

up to inspire the workers to carry on to an end the original plan of rehabilitation. It is highly probable that the unrest in the empire caused many of the Jews to feel that the time was ripe for the restoration of their kingdom through Zerubbabel, a descendant of David. This may have been the incentive back of the renewed effort to reestablish their ancient worship. It would appear that many Jews who had taken refuge among the Ammonites and Moabites now found their way back home. Tattenai, the governor of this region, was moved by the signs of life at Jerusalem to write to Darius the king and inform him of what was going on (Ezra 5: 3). Imbued with a zeal for the restoration of affairs after the manner of Cyrus, Darius searched the records and found it even as Zerubbabel had said. He at once stopped the efforts to delay the building of the Temple and offered help, in money, in animals for the sacrifices, in wheat and oil and other things necessary to the carrying on of the work. New enthusiasm was engendered and the Temple was dedicated in 516, the sixth year of Darius.

XERXES, 486-465

The name Xerxes stands out on the pages of ancient history because of the vast hordes of soldiers which were poured out of Asia into Europe in his prosecution of the war against Greece. If left to himself, it is probable that he would have abandoned the Grecian war, preferring rather to humble Egypt and hold Babylonia in check, but his advisers were eager to remind him that the honor of the country demanded reprisal. Four years were given to the preparation for the invasion of Hellas. Storehouses were placed at convenient points along the way; a canal was cut across the isthmus at Mt. Athos to prevent a repetition of the disaster there; two-sized boats to the number of more

than four thousand formed the navy; a double pontoon spanned the Hellespont; and an army estimated at from *several* hundred thousand to *eighteen* hundred thousand men began the march westward. The Persian evidently intended to crush Greece by sheer weight of numbers.

A storm swept away the bridge of boats, and for this impudence the sea was properly scourged, while the builders were executed for their inefficiency. According to Herodotus it required seven days and nights to cross the straits. A halt was made as ambassadors were sent to the various states, except Sparta and Athens, demanding earth and water as the symbols of submission. Greece did not present a united front. Many of the states yielded, and Thebes held aloof through jealousy. Only the two great states resisted the invasion.

It is a tragic story. Leonidas and his brave Spartans fell, to a man, at Thermopylæ. Themistocles put the fighting force of Athens in triremes and gained a notable victory over the Persian fleet at Salamis. Xerxes fled. Mardonius was left behind to subjugate Greece by land. The following year (479), the battles of Platea and Mycale, also, went to the Greeks and marked the end of the conflict. Occidental individualism had won over oriental despotism. In the East was the boundless wealth of a world empire; in the West were the limited resources of a few small states, inspired by a marvelous conception of freedom. The story of victory here is one of imperishable glory in the records of patriotism and liberty. The results were far-reaching in every respect, particularly as they affected the culture and the religion of the Roman Empire in their bearing upon Christianity.

XERXES AND ESTHER

Against this historical background must be painted the picture of Esther. (Ahasuerus) has been identified as Xerxes; the exact year of the elevation of the Jewish maiden is undetermined. Perhaps the 180-day feast given by the king to his princes and nobles in his third year (483) was the occasion for deciding upon the wisdom of invading Greece. The citizens of Susa were now entertained with a great banquet celebrating the decision to carry on the war. Queen Vashti refused to expose her physical charms before the drunken king and his guests, and was deposed. Returning from his disastrous campaign Xerxes seems to have given himself over to the luxuries of the court. Esther is given the place of Vashti, and the events of her story occur. The wide distribution of favors (Esther 2: 18) and the social display would help to restore the confidence of the subjects in their king. Furthermore, the customs and laws reflected in the book of Esther are distinctly Persian and give an accurate picture of the domestic, social, and political conditions of the time of Xerxes.

THE JEWS IN BABYLON

References to Susa are found in Nehemiah, Esther, and Daniel. The prominence of these characters, together with Mordecai, argue for the wealth, social position, and economic importance of the vast number of Jews who chose to remain in Babylon and in various parts of the Persian Empire through this period. The attempted persecution of the race by Haman in the story of Esther bears out the idea that they were numerous and must be reckoned with. How much of clash there had been with Persian authorities is hard to determine. Perhaps the best view is that there were instances of jealousy and resentment upon the part of the natives when the Jews were given positions of

influence in the national life. To many of the Jewish families the deportation had meant larger privilege than they enjoyed in the homeland. We are to think, however, of a deep loyalty among them for the traditions, the worship, and the institutions of the former life. They made visits in the after years to the feasts. They sent gifts for the support of the Temple. Nehemiah, the reformer, and some of the later high priests came from this Babylonian home of the Jews. In the Greek period all the cities will be opened. The Jew will become cosmopolitan.

THE JEWS IN EGYPT

In this connection it may be well to look into the third outstanding center of Jewish life, namely, Egypt. The glory period of their influence in Alexandria will appear with Greek control and the extension of Greek influence, but it is now certain that a large Jewish colony existed in Egypt prior to the time of Cambyses. Egypt was friendly toward Judah. It was the nearest refuge among the larger nations, and it was in the natural line of escape from the northern invasions. For these reasons the Jews began at a very early date to make their home here. Before 586 Jeremiah and Ezekiel addressed the Jewish refugees in Egypt. Four important towns give evidence of Jewish life,—Migdol and Tahpanhes on the eastern edge of the delta, Memphis (biblical Noph) in the south, and the Elephantine Colony (Syene or Assuan) in the far south, or Upper Egypt.

While the Jews who fled with Jeremiah found refuge in the two first named places, and there mingled with a diverse population of Greek and Phœnician colonists, it is the island of Elephantine that attracts most attention for the Bilbe student. Excavations as late as

1904 reveal evidences of a large colony of the early Persian period, established soon after the fall of Jerusalem. The findings include contracts on papyri in the Aramaic of the fifth century B.C. The colony was on practical equality with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Persians in Egypt. There was a Jewish temple to *Johu* (Jehovah). Reference is made to offerings, temple tax, and the Passover. A letter of appeal for aid was sent to Jerusalem and to Samaria, complaining of the ruthless destruction of their temple by Cambyes. This probably fixes the origin of the colony as a military outpost to serve as a protection for Egypt against the nations to the south.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, 465-425

Soon after the accession of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, Egypt again revolted. Athens assisted with a fleet of two hundred vessels. Though the Persians were defeated in several engagements, a large army overwhelmed the rebels, retook Memphis, and destroyed the Athenian fleet. An attack on Cyprus, a Persian dependency, was now fostered in retaliation. Artaxerxes became alarmed over the Mediterranean outlook and sought peace. The peace of Callias (449) returned Cyprus to Persia but released the Greek cities of Asia Minor to self-control. The Mediterranean was divided by a line running north and south through Phaselis, and the first great conflict between Persia and Greece was terminated after fifty years duration. The revolt of Syria also marred the tranquility of the empire at this time and secured for the provincial governor honorable reconciliation. The king was wanting in force of character, the court being ruled largely by his evil-minded mother, Amestris, and his sister, Amytis.

RETURNS UNDER EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

The reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus introduces the student to the final chapter in Old Testament history, the returns of Ezra and Nehemiah in 458 and 445, respectively. Ezra, "the ready scribe in the law of Moses," longed to return to Jerusalem, presumably for the purpose of putting the law into effect there as the supreme authority in civil and religious matters alike. The actual attempt along this line, however, seems for some reason to have been deferred until after the coming of Nehemiah (Neh. 8-10). His real work was social reform of a drastic type. The intermarriage with foreigners, even upon the part of priests and princes, was denounced and corrected by compulsory divorce. Nehemiah's great work was the rebuilding of the walls of the city, for the most part a reconstruction on the old foundations.³ This was accomplished in the face of trying opposition, upon the part of the Samaritans particularly. He instituted many reforms, established a form of government for the community, and above all, put a spirit of confidence and determination in their hearts. In the action of both Ezra and Nehemiah, Artaxerxes shows to advantage in his encouragement and actual support of the efforts to revive the Jewish settlement.

PERIOD OF PERSIAN DECLINE

The period following the year 425 witnessed the waning power of Persia as a world empire. Princes quarreled over the succession. Xerxes II reigned forty-five days and was succeeded by Darius Nothus (425-407). Many rebellions occurred among the various satrapies. Egypt actually became independent, a condition that lasted half a century. Lydia revolted, aided

³Kent, *Biblical Geog. and Hist.*, p. 202.

by Greek mercenaries, now regarded as the best soldiers in the world. They were, however, subject to bribery, and by this means Persia regained control in the west. Athens made failure of her attempts upon Sicily, and thus weakened, was not able to resist the exaction of tribute imposed by Persia upon the Greek cities of Asia Minor in violation of the Peace of Callias. Meanwhile Sparta's jealousy of Athens had brought on the civil war between these city-states, and Sparta now assisted Persia in regaining a brief and final authority in the Grecian domains.

A contest for the succession arose between Artaxerxes II (407-361), named by the father, and Cyrus, the younger son favored by the mother. In the midst of the coronation exercises Cyrus attempted the life of his brother, but failing in the effort, repaired to his satrapy in Asia Minor to plan revenge. Greek soldiers to the number of some thirteen thousand were induced to aid him, presumably against the Pisidians of the West Taurus country. Soon the Greeks learned the real motive and refused to continue. But it was not difficult to win them over, and the forces of the would-be usurper pressed on eastward to meet the king's troops at Cunaxa. Cyrus was slain, and, save for the heroic fighting of the Greek soldiers, the conflict would have been an utter rout. In disappointment the ten thousand remaining began their retreat, harassed every step of the hazardous journey by the Persian army. Xenophon has enshrouded the heroism and glory of the soldiers of his native country in immortal lustre in his description of these events. Historians agree that this march of the "Ten Thousand Greeks" was probably the incentive to Alexander the Great in his conquest of Asia. The Peace of Antalcides was signed in 387.

Ochus (361-338) was the next king. Egypt was again brought under subjection. Sidon threw off the yoke but was razed to the ground. It was at this stage that Macedonia appeared, attracting attention first about 340. Ochus sent an army to protect Thrace from the attack of Philip of Macedon. The year 336 witnessed the accession of Darius Codomanus of Persia and Alexander to the throne in Macedonia—two men destined to settle finally the issues between the East and the West and turn the path of civilization definitely westward.

II. SPIRITUAL ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER PERSIAN REGIME

Having sketched the history of Persia, particularly in its bearing upon the Jewish state, it seems well to endeavor here to interpret the Persian influence, whether direct or otherwise, upon the shaping of the thought and religious outlook of those who gave form and color to the system of Judaism. Certain benefits or blessings are listed by Bible students as emanating from the exilic period. They are: (1) the destruction of idolatry; (2) the new appreciation of the law of Moses; (3) the inauguration of public worship; and (4) the revival of the Messianic hope, along with the rise of a new nationalism.

The discussion of these topics and related matters has been postponed from the Babylonian to the Persian era for the reason that the exile proper lasted only seventy years, over against the two centuries of Persian mastery; and, while many of these richer spiritual elements must have had their inception during the earlier years of enforced absence from Judah, the longer period would seem better to suit the fuller manifestation of the permanent elements of thought and practical

living that were to make the new Israel of the time of Alexander. For many of the aspects of this transformation, such as scribism or the synagogue, there can be no specific date. They appear with more or less clearness in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, and they are revealed in full force long before the appearance of the Nazarene.

1. IDOLATRY DESTROYED

Note the simple statement of a great fact. "Their ancestral faith," says Fairweather, "was all they had saved from the wreck of the exile, and perhaps it was all that was worth saving."⁴ At least, the lesson of the first commandment had been learned, and that at great cost. The sublime truth of monotheism had gained the day,—the heart of the Jewish contribution to the world, and the fundamental of faith for them and for all mankind.

There were social and economic problems that remained in the new-old Jewish state, but the religious problem was settled. Bel and Nebo had not dethroned Jehovah. The very implication of such a possibility must have revived the ancient faith of the Hebrews. "The idol is nothing," becomes the motto of a religious loyalty born in the atmosphere of polytheism, and finding application then, but waiting for exact statement in the vigorous emphasis of a "Hebrew of the Hebrews" centuries later (1 Cor. 8: 4). From this time on the warning of the prophet against "the gods of the nations round about" is unnecessary. While the subsequent history of the Jew may raise the quandary of true worship *versus* atheism in the apparent irreligion of the modern representatives of the race, the other problem of idolatry *versus* "the Holy One of Israel" had

⁴*From the Exile to the Advent*, p. 96.

been solved once and for all. Even the Christian doctrine of the Trinity will seem but a begging of the question of monotheism in the mind of the orthodox rabbi.

Jewish Exclusiveness. As a corollary to the destruction of idolatrous practices, there now appeared a sense of aloofness and separateness, which must appeal to many as the culmination of the history of the Jews and the natural fruition of the lessons of exclusiveness in the earlier stages of their national life. They had delighted to recount how Jehovah had led them "by a mighty hand." Now, they find a glorification in being God's "holy nation." Amos had reiterated, "You only have I known of all the families of the earth." One reaction to this idea was a new national feeling, the other was a social and religious isolation that found expression in the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah and in many suggestions of intense hatred for the heathen as the enemies of God. (Cf. Babylon and Edom in Psalm 137.) It also meant a certain accession of moral and spiritual strength, "a recognition of the sovereignty of holiness" (Fairweather). They were clean; the others were unclean. Here was the basis of a caste system that was to find early expression through Ezra, as its clearest voice and most devoted champion, and to reach fullest application in another Jew of the dispersion, Saul of Tarsus, its ultimate product.

The occasion for the manifestation of this spirit was found in the hostile contact with the Samaritan group. This mixed race of Cutheans (the Hebrew name) and the poor Jews left in the land after the fall of Samaria (722) proved to be the "thorn in the sides" of Judah. The request to have a part in the rebuilding of the Temple was met with positive refusal and led on to a violent animosity which lasted into New Testament times. The Samaritans not only attempted to prevent

the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Ezra 4: 17-24; Neh. 4: 7-13; Jos. *Ant.* 11: 4: 4), but seized Jewish lands, carried off Jews as slaves (*Ant.* 12: 4: 1), and, upon one occasion, brought the bodies of dead men into the cloisters of the temple (*Ant.* 18: 2: 2). They were ready to claim kinship with the Jews when such appeared to be an advantage, while at other times they repudiated this connection and acknowledged their Assyrian origin (Ezra 4: 2; *Ant.* 9: 14: 3; 11: 4: 3, 9, etc.).

The Samaritan Schism. The opposition to the Jewish scheme in Jerusalem may have arisen from three basic reasons, namely, commercial rivalry, social jealousy of the boasted "cleanness" of the genealogy, and religious prejudice against the policy of exclusiveness. Samaria would be loath to make room for the rebuilding of a rival city in the southern Syrian satrapy. The problem of intermarriage brought to light the claim of superiority, both racial and religious, and had far-reaching consequences in the new order. The mass of the people had grown accustomed to foreign ideas and were not so rigid as Ezra in the demand for social exclusiveness. Even the priestly families were affected. Manasseh, a greatgrandson of Eliashib, the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat, the arch-enemy of Nehemiah. He must relinquish his inheritance-rights or give up his alien wife, Nicaso. With the assurance from the Samaritan governor that he would build a temple and establish a priesthood for his son-in-law, the priest surrendered his connection at Jerusalem, and the rival worship was begun at Mt. Gerizim. Probably a large Judean element seceded from the requirements of the reformers, for certainly, with a priest of Aaron's line and a copy of the Pentateuch, the separate religious sect now came into being. That quarrel is reflected in

the conversation of the woman of Sychar with Jesus at Jacob's well (John 4: 20).

This break has been called "the age of protestantism in the Jewish church," because of the determination upon the part of the loyalists to hold themselves apart from heathen nations. Judah stood at the crossroads. On the one hand, she must give to the world the religious contribution that was born in separateness as the chosen people of God; on the other hand, seers like Isaiah had already pointed ahead to the mission of the nation to bring the Gentile peoples to Jehovah. One is led to wonder what might have been the result if the Temple builders had begun their missionary activities by inviting their neighbors to participate in the worship of the true God. The old danger in Israel had been that the Jews should forget that they were a chosen people. World-likeness was the peril. Now, the tragedy is they are saying, "We are holier than thou," and the new peril is caste. As Ezra came to counteract the liberalism of Solomon, so Christ will come to counteract Ezra and reconcile separation and brotherhood.

2. THE LAW OF MOSES RESPECTED

The new appreciation of the Mosaic law that developed during the Persian period was, probably, both cause and effect of the destruction of idolatry. The two must have been wrought out simultaneously. Reaction and recoil from heathen contact brought the Jew to a study of his own religion, and to a practical application of its tenets. "The law," says Principal Skinner, "became at once the standard of holiness, and the symbol of nationality, and . . . gained such a hold on the affections of the Jewish people, that all danger of their

being absorbed by the surrounding nations was at an end."⁵

The study of the law called forth the official scribe (450-100 B.C.) as, first, copyist, then student, editor, and interpreter of the law. This legalistic tendency dates from Ezra, who is the typical scribe, who "set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments" (Ezra 5: 10). His successors collected and enlarged Israel's sacred literature, interpreted it to the common people, and so emphasized its importance as to make it the rule of faith and life. Conformity to the law became the standard as well as the source of right living; the love of it was the demonstration of true piety. Religion was not a communion between man and God, but a conduct legally correct. It was the task of the scribes to apply the law to every minute action of daily life.

Scribism. Scribism was thus the counterpart to prophetism. The prophets were, generally speaking, the makers of the law and the inspiration of its enforcement, as the priests were the interpreters and executives of its requirements. At this time prophetism was waning. The tragic period of exile had maintained its glorious appeal and warning in Ezekiel and Jeremiah. The zeal of the restoration inspired Haggai and Zechariah, and the never-failing hope of future glory endowed Malachi with a final official and authoritative utterance. Scribism was a faint echo of the voice that had been hushed. It sought to gather up the fragments and conserve the memories of that glorious past. "Originality dies as commentary thrives. An annotating age is not a creative age."⁶

At the first, the scribes were priests. The duty of elaborating the law belonged naturally to the priest

⁵*Historical Connection, etc.*, p. 11.

⁶Grant, *Between the Testaments*, p. 11.

class. But their activity along this line was always held to be distinct from their official duties. There arose, therefore, a body of devout, studious laymen, who, by their character and their acquaintance with the letter of the law, gained respect and recognition of authority for their versions. As a matter of fact the priestly element became more and more separate from the scribal. The tendency of the priesthood was toward liberality of thought and practice. Nehemiah's foreign policy was first applied in the case of the high priest, and the schism was in the priestly function. Ultimately this line of cleavage will widen and mark out the difference not only between the Judaism of Palestine and the Grecian or Hellenistic Jewish theology, but also the basis for the fundamental contentions of the two great religious parties, Pharisees and Sadducees. It was the scribal loyalty to the Mosaic law that gave shape to these developments.

Influence of the High Priest. While the movement in Judea was a scribal program of far-reaching results, the place of the high priest during the Persian regime must not be minimized. During the exile the priesthood had remained intact, incident to the maintenance of all religious practices which were independent of the Temple itself. It seems that care was given to lineage and prerogative, so that during subsequent periods of the Judean struggle it became desirable and necessary to import priests of purer genealogy, of direct Aaronic descent, from the Persian Jewish center. In Judea at this time the high priestly power began to assume the supremacy which is manifest throughout the Greek, the Maccabean, and the Roman eras of control.

In the exilic period the high priest held his office directly from Jehovah. The ancient prestige, the principle of heredity, and the life tenure of his position—

all served to bring added dignity and honor. The son of Onias, in the story of Sirach, reveals the paramount influence of the priest when personal worth measured up to the importance of the function. In the restoration, secular power became an induement of the office. The high priest was leader of the community, politically and socially, as well as religiously. The ease of Persian supervision made this possible, and the national policy made it desirable. It was but natural that corruption should enter. There was opportunity for selfish exploitation and many used their rights to enhance personal power.

Josephus records (*Ant.* 11: 7: 1) only one episode of the late Persian period, but this throws light upon the point at hand. Judas, the son of Eliashib, died, leaving two sons, Johanan and Joshua, to contend for the office of high priest. Johanan (John), the elder, would naturally have entered into the place, but Bago-ses, a Persian general, befriended Joshua (Jesus) and favored his side of the controversy. Joshua provoked his brother into a quarrel in which he himself was slain within the Temple court. Bago-ses went to Jerusalem, made his way by force into the sanctuary, and imposed a seven-year tax of fifty shekels for every lamb sacrificed. When the Jews charged him with profaning the Temple, he claimed that his presence must have been less of a blasphemy than the body of the murdered priest. The incident serves to indicate the moral abuses and political schemes that entered into the priestly control of affairs under the beneficent but careless oversight of Persia.

3. PUBLIC WORSHIP ESTABLISHED

Hand in hand with the high evaluation of the Mosaic law that arose during this period was the inclination to carry on the worship of Jehovah, in so far as this

was possible apart from the Temple, in accordance with the specifications of the ritual. The result was a popular assembly of worshipers under the leadership of the more devout that had as its aim the teaching of the fundamentals of Mosaism to the common people, the careful study of the messages of the prophets as to the meaning of their present experiences, and the stimulation of faith and devotion during the troublous times.

During the Exile. The law called for worship. The devotion of the scribes to its study and teaching would have weight among the people. The opportunity afforded by the large degree of religious liberty and by the presence of the former Temple officials, priests and Levites, together with the occasion for penitence, prayer, and meditation in their sad plight, would inspire this naturally devout race to fashion anew its worship-life. A large importance came to be attached to the rite of circumcision and to the observance of the sabbath. In time a purificatory bath was added to the ritual. Four special days of fasting (Zech. 7: 5; 8: 19) commemorated the tragic events associated with the overthrow of Jerusalem. Prayer and the reading of the Word were probably the central elements of worship in which all united, as these are in evidence later as the specifically unique features of the synagogue service.

The Synagogue. As a medium for cultivating, in common, their religious emotions and for receiving instruction in the law, the assembly must have filled a large place in the lives of the exiles. After the return home, the impulses along these devotional lines, under the direction of Ezra and his successors, ran on independently of the sacrifices in the Second Temple and led to the establishment of the synagogue as a permanent institution. By the time of Christ, almost every village in Palestine had its meeting house (Acts 15:

21), and this was true also among the Jews of the Dispersion, practically everywhere.

4. THE MESSIANIC HOPE

Shürer says, in his history of the Jews, that love of the law and hope of the Messiah were the two nerve centers of Judaism. The Messianic expectation was the outgrowth of the fundamental beliefs and experiences of the Israelite people. They were the chosen people of Jehovah, bound by covenant with him from patriarchal times, and especially by the compact of their great lawgiver. At the time of the giving of the law, and later by the prophets, they were assured over and over again that God was faithful, and this meant that he was loyal to keep his word of promise. In periods of stress, particularly, their confidence in and dependence upon this divine attribute became paramount. The revival of this conviction at such times was usually accompanied by an acknowledgment of their guilt, as they realized sin had for the moment eclipsed their consciousness of divine favor. The idea was largely a national one, and the hope for better times related itself to the nation "whose God was Jehovah," rather than to the individual.

A Development. The conception was generic, growing and expanding through the accumulation of idealistic characters and eras in the nation's development. Under Mosaic leadership it took the form of the expectation of a "prophet like unto Moses" (Deut. 18: 15); after David's glorious reign it anticipated a renewal of the "sure mercies of David" (2 Sam. 7: 8-17; Psalm 89: 19-37), and, following the division of the kingdom, the reunion of all the tribes under a continuous Davidic line (Amos 9: 11f; Hos. 3: 5). Sometimes the king is a succession (Jer. 17: 25f, etc.), and again he is a single descendant (Isa. 7: 14ff, etc.); that

is, sometimes it is an *era* that is described, and again the terms fit only a *person* who embodies all the elements of hope. This individual will stand in peculiar relation to Jehovah; he will reign by his appointment, in his name, and by his power; he will do all of God's will, a ruler in absolute righteousness who would compel all men to honor the God of Israel, who would bring such glory as would surpass all that had been realized in the reign of the first David, and would bestow on his people perfect peace, happiness, and well-being forever.⁷

During the Exile. The prophecies of Isaiah and Micah had attained the farthest advances toward the completion of the idyllic picture. Many personal elements of the description were stressed, and even to a nation in exile, these brought assurance of a deliverance and a Deliverer in keeping with the faithfulness of God and the misery of the existence of the exiles. To be sure, this did not appear at once, nor did the hope glow with undimmed luster throughout the period. Many hearts yielded to distrust and despair. The prophetic dream of a Davidic king probably lost its charm, but the ideal of a golden age for Israel in the future seems not to have waned. The prophecies were still read in the synagogue services and earnest souls like Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah stirred smoldering emotions into occasional flame of passionate longing. It is doubtless true that many found fulfillment of prophecy and answer to prayer in Zerubbabel and in the return from captivity under the other leaders. In spite of later lethargy and lessened fervor, one is impressed with the fact that throughout the long years of weary waiting and deferred realization the Messianic hope was never absolutely extinct.

⁷Stanton in Hastings' D. B.

OTHER INFLUENCES: *Doctrine*

Account must be taken of the external as well as of the internal forces that gave impetus to the high religious and literary ambitions in the national life of the Jews at this time. We may content ourselves with the belief, however, that no appreciable influence came from the Chaldeans or from the Persians upon the doctrinal elements of Old Testament religion. It has been maintained by some that the symbolism in the writings of Daniel and Ezekiel originated in Babylon. Others contend that the incentive toward monotheism and against idolatry, the doctrines of immortality and the resurrection, the millennial reign of a coming deliverer, had counterparts in Zoroastrianism, the religion of Persia. It is possible that the Pharisaic belief in angels, a return to the early Old Testament teachings, was strengthened under the environment of an acceptance of both good and evil spirits in a dual hierarchy. But the doctrinal point of view of Haggai and Zechariah is not different from that of Ezekiel; the resurrection certainly of Daniel 12 is not far removed from that of Psalm 18 and Job 19.

Social Customs. In the social life of the Jews little change would be expected, for the reason that everything Jewish was subject to an overpowering religious motive, even the matter of diet (Dan. 1: 5, 8), and for the further reason that the national existence had remained intact through isolation in the alien country. The two institutions, the synagogue and the Sanhedrin, probably had no prototypes in Persian life. The home and family life must have continued very much the same as in pre-exilic times. The foreign quarters of many of our large American cities today offer illustrations of the manner in which the customs of long standing survive even the leveling influences of our

democracy. Occupations changed among those who remained in Babylon, but the Jewish characteristics remained the same everywhere.

Language and Literature. Next to religion and sentiment, a change in language would indicate the profound and subtle influence of one people over another. During the age when the hearts of the Jews were turning most eagerly and trustfully to the memories of the past, the exigencies of present discomforts were compelling them to discard the speech of their fathers. Aramaic became the language of trade and diplomacy, while Hebrew remained the speech of worship and revelation. The sanctity of the unspoken tongue seemed to center, more and more, about the Jew's *lost word*, the name for his God which has come down to us in the form of "Jehovah." Aramaic became so widespread that it has been called the first universal language. The impress of foreign ideas upon the Jewish mind is further revealed in the literature that emanates from this period. The Persian practice of dating events by the year of the king's reign is reflected in the writings of Ezra and the prophets of his time. While most of the apocryphal writings give evidence of Greek thought and later Jewish influence, one story has special worth in drawing the picture of Jewish life in this early period. That story is *Tobit*.

TOBIT

The narrative claims an Assyrian setting, among the Jews of the Northern Kingdom carried captive in 722. In spite of the fact that its date has been estimated all the way from 689 B.C. to 226 A.D., it is probably the oldest of the apocryphal books, and pictures the life of the Jews under Persian rule. Ewald dates it 350 B.C.

Tobit, who had become rich as the king's "Purveyor," was reduced to poverty by persecution on account of his piety and patriotism, and to blindness by misfortune. His son, Tobias, the hero of the story, was sent to recover money which, in his balmier days, the father had deposited with Gabael, a fellow tribesman, in Media. A guide, who gives his name as Azarias, but who in reality is the angel Raphael, coming in answer to pious Tobit's prayer, attends the son on his eastward journey. The angel-servant had also entered the plans in answer to the prayers of Sara, daughter of Raguel of Ecbatana. Though seven-times-wedded, the maid had lost each husband on the wedding night because of the demon, Asmodeus. Now led by the angelic guide, Tobias outwitted the demon, secured the money, married Sara, and returned home to cure his father's blindness.

The popularity of the story is shown in the many variations that occur in several languages. Its historical character was not questioned until by Luther, who called it "a wholesome and profitable fiction." It is now classed as a historical novel. It is an idyllic picture of a pious Jewish home life in the time of the captivity. Its doctrinal interest lies in its reference to angels, possession of evil spirits, exorcism, burial of the dead, future life, fasting, salvation by alms-giving (4: 10; 12: 9), a negative golden rule (4: 15), and absence of the Messianic hope. Interesting hints are given concerning marriage with relatives (3: 17; 6: 17). The mention of a dog (5: 16; 11: 4) adds a non-Jewish touch to the story. Prayer, the providence of God, and the sacredness of marriage are strongly attested.

III. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

It remains now to treat briefly of the affairs in the western world during this period, 536 to 333.

LIFE IN GREECE

The period is characterized, in civic affairs, by the reforms of Clisthenes (508), who is to be named with Draco and Solon in service to the state. He extended the privileges of citizenship to foreigners and of freedom to the slaves in Attica. The war with Persia, which broke out in 494, has been considered in the development of the activities of the leading Persian kings. Themistocles, who had defeated the Persians on a policy of a greater navy, now fortified the restored Athens with a high wall embracing considerable territory about the city. Under the guidance of Aristides, the old rival of Themistocles, the Greek states in Asia Minor and the islands formed a union (477 B.C.) known as the Delian League (or Confederacy of Delos) for purposes of defense. Cimon, son of Miltiades, hero of Marathon, was intrusted with the enforcement of the principles of the league which soon came to play into the hands of Athenian power. Athens was mistress of the seas as Sparta was of the land. The wary leader foresaw the rivalry between the cities, and so cultivated the pro-Spartan attitude that he was ostracized.

Age of Pericles, 461-429. With the removal of Cimon's leadership from among the aristocrats, the democratic or liberal party came into power under the wise counsel of Pericles. He was a man who lived much apart. His popularity lay not in flattery of the populace but in his calm dignity, his rare but eloquent deliverances, and his unselfish devotion to Athens. His thirty years of active service is called "the most brilliant epoch in Greek history." Athens became a democracy, and her people became lovers of knowledge, poetry, and art,—the one thing above all else that has made them famous.

The Athenian democracy was virtually an empire. More than two hundred towns, either by tribute or garrisons or court cases, recognized the supremacy of Athens. To the Greeks at large this appeared as tyranny. It was not a government by representation. But in the city proper the democracy was real. The ideal was to give every man a chance in law making, in holding office, and in the administration of justice. It is said there were 1,400 different offices, and the most of them were annual without the privilege of re-election. The poor had the ballot as well as the rich. The Assembly was the center of their civic life. It settled all public questions, and became, also, a school of oratory. The jury courts were equally democratic and popular. Jurors, soldiers, sailors, and later the members of the Assembly, received pay for services.

Industrially, wages were low and slaves were numerous. Peasants tilled the crops of olives, grapes, and figs. Considerable export and import trade passed through Pireus, the seaport of Athens, now connected with the city by means of the celebrated Long Walls. Temples were raised on the Acropolis during this period of prosperity, and the democratic spirit gave encouragement to the great poets, historians, and philosophers whose contributions gave color to the Athenian glory. (Socrates, 469-399; Plato, 427-347; Aristotle, 384-322.)

The Peloponnesian War, 431-404. Greek cities were always ready to fight one another. Now, it was like a dispute between a nation's army and navy. The great age just passed in Athens, too, had quickened Sparta's rivalry. The conflict was inevitable. The occasion was found in a commercial rivalry with Corinth. In a quarrel between that city and her colony, Corcyra,

Athens took sides with the colony and Corinth found an ally in Sparta.

In the first stage of the war (431-421) Attica was ravaged by the Spartans while the Athenians took refuge within their walls. A plague in the crowded city took toll of a fourth of the population, including Pericles. After ten years of fighting, both sides grew weary and agreed upon a fifty year truce. But the brilliant Alcibiades persuaded Athens to take Syracuse, in Sicily, a colony of Corinth. This expedition (415-413) was a complete failure. Thucydides, the historian, says the Athenians were "absolutely annihilated . . . of the many thousands who went away only a handful ever saw their homes again." The Spartans quickly renewed the contest (413-404), and, in the end, imposed harsh terms upon the vanquished. Sparta had championed the cause of the liberty-loving Greek cities and had won, but now became more tyrannical than Athens had ever been. Thebes raised the standard of revolt (379). In the Battle of Leuctra, 371, she completely overthrew Spartan supremacy, Pelopidas and Epaminondas being the heroes of the short-lived glory (ending 362). To the north a new power was rising to prominence and renown. Philip II ascended the Macedonian throne in 359.

THE EARLY ROMAN GOVERNMENT

L. Tarquinius (Superbus) was placed on the throne by the politicians in 534 as the last of Rome's legendary kings in this uncertain era, and in protest against the plebeian legislation of good King Servius. His government was arbitrary and severe. Property of the rich was confiscated and the poor were enslaved. The Latins were overcome, thus breaking the treaty of perpetual amity that had been signed in the previous reign.

The public buildings, begun by the first Tarquin, were now completed. The reputed visit of the Cumean Sibyl and the sale of the prophetic Sibylline Oracles date from this time. The crime against Lucretia, wife of Collatinus, was so revolting even to Roman society, and so reacted upon the perpetrator, Sextus, son of the king, that the entire Tarquin family was expelled from the state. The kingly office was abolished and the land owned by Tarquin along the Tiber was consecrated to Mars as Campus Martius.

The Republic. The Roman Republic began in 509. Two consuls were elected as heads of the government. For the stress of war a dictator, with regal authority, was appointed. The several attempts of the Tarquins to return to power are marked by legendary tales of valor. Brutus, who avenged the death of Lucretia, was killed in one of these attempts, and his death was mourned a year by Roman matrons. "Horatius at the Bridge" celebrates another hero of the popular uprising against royalty. The story of Cincinnatus is a charming epic of the times. Made dictator in his field at work, he captured the Equians who held the Romans entrapped, led them in triumph to Rome, then calmly returned to his plow.

Plebeian Protests. The struggles between patricians and plebeians continued with varying results. A victory for the latter was achieved in the election of ten tribunes who served as a check on consular power with special regard for the interests of the commons. In the struggle for equality before the law, a board of ten men (decemvirs) was named to frame a legal code. A study of the laws of Greece was made, and the laws now enacted were engraved upon twelve tablets and set up in the Forum (449). Other officers installed were questors, or keepers of the treasury, and censors, who took

care of the census and tax assessments. The real governing body of the republic was the Senate. For two centuries, while Rome was winning control over Italy and the Mediterranean, this body was composed of the wisest and noblest Romans of the time. The year 390 witnessed the invasion of the Gauls under Brennus and the near ruin of the state. Rome was taken and burned, but rose from her ashes mightier than she was before. Manlius and Camillus were the heroes during this stormy period. In 338, at the time Greece was yielding to the Macedonian, Rome closed the Latin War which gave her supremacy over this ancient enemy as she had already mastered Etruria on the north. The victory over southern Italy will come in the next period.

Looking backward over the events of these centuries, we may picture a cross-section of the three great peoples in whose affairs we are most interested, and observe that while Ezra and Nehemiah are promoting their reforms in Jerusalem, under the waning power of Persia, Greece is being glorified by the influence of Pericles and the greatness of Athens, and Rome is gaining a footing for world power, and feeling more and more the urge of the common man for a share in the blessings of the larger life. Each in its place was making ready that achievement in religion, literary culture, and law that would pave the way for the approach of the Christ and the Christian era.

PERSIAN PERIOD

B. C. 536—333

B.C.	JUDEA	MEDIO-PERSIA	GREECE AND MACEDONIA	EGYPT AND ROME
536		Cyrus ruler of Babylon (536-529)		Rome (The Kingdom): Reign of L. Tarquinius Superbus (534-509)
535	First Return Zerubbabel	Edict concerning the Jews		Last of the kings
	Temple begun	Cambyses (529-522)		Egypt subject to Persia
525	Haggai and Zechariah	Invasion of Egypt		Elephantine Colony of Jews in Egypt
	Temple dedicated	Darius Hystaspis (521-486)		Rome (The Republic)
516		Invasion of Europe	Clisthenes (508)	Republic Begun (509)
			Graeco-Persian War (494-449)	First Consuls
486		Xerxes (486-465)	Marathon (490)	Dictator (501)
		Invasion of Greece		Plebeians get office of Tribune (494)
		Esther	Salamis (480)	Political Strife
465		Jews in Babylon	Themistocles	
		Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425)	Delian League (477)	
			Aristides and Cimon	
458	Second Return Ezra Reforms	End of war with Greece	Age of Pericles (461-429)	Cincinnatus (460) Decemvirs (451)
			Peace of Callias (449)	Twelve Tables (449)
445	Third Return Nehemiah Walls built	Revolt of Syria		Beginning of Rome's legal system
433	Malachi	Persian decline	Peloponnesian War (431-404)	
425	End of Old Testament period		Xenophon	
390			Socrates	Gauls sack Rome
			Theban Supremacy (371-362)	Camillus
359			Philip ruler of Macedonia (359-336)	First Plebeian Consul (365)
			Aristotle and Plato	Samnite Wars (343 on)
			Congress of Corinth (337)	Subjugation of Campania (338)
336			Alexander the Great succeeds to the throne of Macedonia	First Plebeian Dictator (336)



CHAPTER 3
THE GREEK PERIOD

THE GREEK PERIOD

B.C. 333-167

I. THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

1. Philip and Demosthenes.
2. Congress of Corinth.

II. ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1. Rise to Power. Conquest of the East. His Work.
2. Alexander and the Jews; the Samaritans.
3. Division of the Empire.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD

1. The Jewish Dispersion.
2. The Government of Jerusalem.
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IV. THE JEWS UNDER THE PTOLEMIES, 320-198

1. Soter and Philadelphus.
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3. First Attempt on Temple Treasures.
4. Antiochus Epiphanes. Jason and Menelaus. Expedition against Egypt. Religious Conformity.

VI. LITERATURE

1. *Sirach*. Period. Biblical Setting. Nature of the Teachings. The Hymn of the Forefathers. Value.
2. *Wisdom of Solomon*. Author and Date. Purpose and Doctrine. Value.

VII. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

1. Decline of Greece and Macedonia.
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CHAPTER 3

THE GREEK PERIOD

B.C. 333-167

I. THE RISE OF MACEDONIA

PHILIP OF MACEDON

Three years after the battle of Mantinea which marked the end of Theban supremacy, Philip II ascended the throne of Macedonia (359). The close historical and geographical relation with Greece is matched by an ethnic and cultural connection which made Macedonia but little less than Hellas under a new name and with revived aspirations. The Macedonians, though only partially civilized, were Greeks in blood and language.

Up to this time the land had played an insignificant role in the affairs of the ancient world. In Philip and his son and successor, Alexander the Great, this people will take the leading place in the Greek world and will give form and color to the great Hellenic contribution to the intellectual and artistic life of all time.

Philip's boyhood, in part, was spent at Thebes as a hostage. Here he caught the spirit of Greek culture and the genius of Epaminondas as manifested in military tactics. He returned home to perfect the famous Macedonian phalanx, with which he conquered Greece as the first step in a world conquest. He overran Thrace and Thessaly, and founded the important city of Philippi, which would later be the first city in Europe to hear the story of the Christ.

DEMOSTHENES

The once-powerful Greek city-states were largely indifferent to the threatening menace on the north. But there was one man who saw the danger and sought with his patriotic fervor and oratorical zeal to warn his people of the peril of their freedom. Demosthenes (384-324) was the last and the most famous of Athenian orators. The story of his mastery of the powers of speech is a familiar one. His countrymen laughed at his awkward delivery and his tedious, involved sentences. His friends encouraged him with the assurance that his thought was worthy of Pericles. It is said that he practiced his gestures before the mirror, overcame stammering by speaking with pebbles in his mouth, and gained the volume sufficient to be heard in the assembly by measuring his tones with the roar of the breakers along the seashore.

He gloried in Athens' great past. He sought to arouse once more the fighting instincts of the Grecian soldiers of the former age. In his passionate *Philippics* against the new enemy on the north he labored for the salvation of the freedom of Hellas as his forbears had done in the struggle with Persia. But his efforts were largely in vain. Athens and Thebes rallied to forget their ancient rivalry, but Sparta held aloof. The lack of unity in Greece again proved its downfall. The battle of Chæronea (338) gave Philip the control of Greece.

CONGRESS OF CORINTH, 337

The policy of the conqueror was constructive. Having brought Thebes to terms, he treated the Athenian citizens with great consideration, and entered the Peloponnesus as the friend of the smaller cities against Sparta. The ambitions of Greece toward the East were

readily assumed by Philip. He called the Congress of the Hellenistic States at Corinth in 337 to consider that question. He was entrusted with the leadership of the allied forces, with ships and soldiers, to invade Asia Minor and repay Persia for her crimes. But he was killed by an assassin in 336 and the kingdom passed into the hands of his son.

II. ALEXANDER THE GREAT

EDUCATION AND EXPLOITS

Alexander, destined to be even greater than his father, a world conqueror and a mold of a new civilization, was only twenty years of age when he assumed the control of the kingdom. He had his father's kingly bearing and overmastering will power; from his Thracian mother he inherited an element of the heroic and a taste for daring achievement. As a youth he gave himself to the athletic sports of his rough and care-free companions. Several stories are told of his exploits. He rode his famous horse Bucephalus, which none of his soldiers could ride, by turning the horse's head so that he could not see his shadow. In this feat he fulfilled an oracle which proclaimed the rider as the king of Macedon. A similar destiny was associated with the Gordian Knot which he, failing to untie, promptly severed with the sword, and thus passed on to posterity the familiar expression about an easy way out of a difficulty. His reported visit to Diogenes is probably spurious. It is said that the king opened the conversation with "I am Alexander the Great," to which the philosopher replied, "And I am Diogenes the Cynic." Alexander then inquired how he might serve him, to which Diogenes replied, "You can stand out of the sunshine." The king was so impressed with the

rejoinder that he is reported to have moved away with the remark, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

Philip saw to it that his son was given the best of training. He persuaded Aristotle to become his tutor. The philosopher instilled in the mind of the prince a love for all things Grecian. Alexander attributed to his famous teacher the inspiration of his endeavor, saying that while he owed his life to his father, he owed to Aristotle the knowledge of how to live worthily. It is said that he learned the *Iliad* by heart and carried a copy of it on his campaigns. He stepped boldly into the place and adopted the policies of Philip. He remarked to his nobles who conducted him to the throne, "The king's name is changed, but the king you shall find remains the same."

RISE TO POWER

As was to be expected, the death of Philip was the signal of revolt, but the Thracians and the Greeks were quickly subdued. Thebes was wiped out, only the house of Pindar the poet being spared. The cruelty here was probably in retaliation for the treatment accorded Philip, a lesson to all who thought to oppose the new king. The Amphictyonic Council at Thermopylæ conferred on him the dignity of his father's seat as head of that body, and at the Corinthian Congress he was made generalissimo of all the Greeks. The object of this action was the execution of Philip's plan to invade Persia, which, at this time, was a loosely confederated group of peoples holding allegiance to the great King Darius. Though rich in resources the empire was a hollow shell, weak in organization and defense, as was learned by the Greeks some seventy years prior to this time in the expedition of the ten thousand. With an

army of about thirty-five thousand men Alexander was prepared to destroy an empire which for two centuries had dictated terms and policies to all Asia. History contains no parallel to this conquest.

CONQUEST OF ASIA AND THE EAST

In the spring of 334 B.C., Alexander crossed the Hellespont, made offerings at the site of ancient Troy, and met the "barbarians" at the river Granicus. The victory was complete. Following this, one after another of the Ionian cities opened their gates to their benefactor-conqueror, until within a year Asia Minor was under Macedonian control. The good sense of Alexander was winning loyal subjects, while his daring success was bringing prospective foes to seek terms of peace. Added to this was the bold claim of providential protection and leadership. Many difficult situations were cleared, apparently in the nick of time.

The next plan was to advance by way of Syria to Egypt. Having taken the southern kingdom he would proceed against Babylon and Susa. But the great king could not permit this trespassing of his western dominions without a challenge. He would check the invader on the outskirts of the Euphrates Valley. So with a great host he joined battle at Issus, in a narrow Syrian pass between the mountains and the sea. The battle proved a massacre of the Persians. Much booty including members of the family of Darius fell into Alexander's hands. The same policy of moderation and kindness toward the conquered was manifested here, but the Macedonian refused to make peace with the Persian king. The results of this battle had a wholesome effect upon the situation at home, where Sparta had refused to cooperate with the other states and continued to plot with the agents of Darius for the overthrow of the home government of the Macedonians.

Sidon welcomed Persia's new foe, who accepted her submission and restored her territory and rights that had recently been lost to Persia. Near the close of 333, Alexander reached Tyre, the headquarters of Persia's naval power. The well-nigh impregnable city yielded to a siege that lasted until July, 332. Thousands perished in the onset and other thousands passed into slavery. Gaza delayed the onward march of the conqueror only a few weeks. In Egypt he was again welcomed. He entered Memphis in triumph and was crowned king. Thence he sailed down the Nile to its western mouth and laid the foundation of the city that was to bear his name and become the metropolis of the Orient. Cyrene and Libya acknowledged his authority and marked the extremity of his conquests in the south.

Turning northward Alexander soon met the Persian hordes in a final encounter. The army of Darius is said to have numbered a million infantry and forty thousand cavalry. The armies joined battle near Arbela on October 1, 331. Here, near the ruins of ancient Nineveh, on the plains of Gangamela, Darius was routed and fled, hotly pursued by the determined Greeks. This decided the fate of the Persian empire. Babylon and Susa, with their enormous treasures, fell into the hands of the conqueror. Darius was murdered by his own men during the retreat. Persepolis with its royal palaces was razed. One Persian dependency after another fell, until by 328 Alexander was master of all the eastern lands except India. With one blow the province of Punjab, at the head waters of the Indus, yielded to the Macedonian. Here his men refused to proceed further, and reluctantly Alexander gave orders to return home. At the mouth of the river he dispatched his newly created navy on a voyage of exploration of the Indian Ocean. He now returned with his army to Babylon, the proposed capital of his Mace-

donian empire. In the midst of plans for building up a great sea trade with India by way of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, he fell ill of a fever following a carousal and in twelve days he was dead (323).

THE WORK OF ALEXANDER

The brilliancy of his military operations has largely obscured his qualities as a statesman, but Alexander was a statesman of the highest order. He had received from his father the idea of a great empire, and he had now successfully laid the foundation of a realm almost beyond comprehension in the sweep of the plan of organization. Had he lived out his allotted time there is no way of measuring what might have been the results. As it was, he broke down the barriers between the East and the West. In the development of his satrapies there was a strange but wholesome fusion of the Orient with western ideas. Greek art and culture followed the conquering army. Commerce and colonies opened doors for improvement of social and economic conditions everywhere. The introduction of Hellenistic modes of thought was given such impetus that the years that follow will record the story of acquiescence or stubborn resistance as these influences tended to reshape Oriental habits and modes of life. Later, the Romans will profit by the results of this achievement, and, in time, Christianity will also enter into the fruits of Hellenism over a wide area.

ALEXANDER AND THE JEWS

We have traced the career of Alexander through to his death in order to form an estimate of his character and accomplishments. The influence of his policies with reference to the eastern nations had vital effect upon civil, social, artistic, literary, moral and religious groups and questions throughout the remainder of the

interbiblical period and on into the early decades of Christian history. Greek culture came to play a most interesting part in the reshaping of the thought-life of Egypt and Palestine. The story of its interaction upon and among the peoples of these countries, particularly, is the heart of the transformation that took place between the times of Nehemiah and the days of Jesus of Nazareth. For the Jews this influence began in a definite and personal way, according to the account of Josephus, in the appearance of the conqueror before the gates of Jerusalem.

From Tyre he sent messengers demanding the transfer of Jewish allegiance to him and a quantity of supplies for his army. Jaddua, the high priest, sent a rather curt reply to the effect that "he had given his oath to Darius, not to bear arms against him, and he would not transgress this whilst Darius was in the land of the living" (Jos. *Ant.* 11: 8: 3). "Fidelity to treaty engagement," as Dr. Grant says, "has ever been an honorable tradition among the Jews. They have been scattered in every land, but can proudly boast that Jewish traitor has been found in none."¹ After the siege of Gaza Alexander marched against Jerusalem to punish it for its obstinate attitude toward his demands. The high priest was alarmed and called upon the people to make supplications and offer sacrifices to God for deliverance. According to the vivid description of the Jewish historian, God warned Jaddua in a dream to adorn the city and open the gates, to have the people dress in white garments, and to lead the procession with the priests clad in the habits of their order, the high priest himself in his purple and scarlet and with the mitre on his head.

¹*Between the Testaments*, p. 18.

Alexander was greatly impressed, the story goes, and advanced respectfully and bowed his head in worship. Remonstrated with by his generals, that he who bowed to no man should so conduct himself in the presence of this company, the conqueror claimed that the scene enacted was the fulfillment of a vision that had come to him while in Macedonia as he contemplated the conquest of Asia. He now entered the city and offered sacrifice to Jehovah. Before withdrawing, he also confirmed the Jews in all privileges that had been extended them by the Persians, especially the exemption from taxes in the sabbatical year.

HOW EXPLAINED

It is highly probable that Josephus has drawn upon his imagination for much of his story. We may be sure that the heart of the matter is true, that the Jews were kindly treated, and that the change of masters made little difference in their condition. It may be that the statesmanship and magnanimity of the king were satisfied with the heroism of the priest, the frank expression of the people's allegiance to Darius as a matter of conscience, and the demonstration of integrity of character as an offset to what at first appeared as a resentment of his authority. One might go further and picture some scribe pointing out to Alexander, from the writings of Daniel, the references of the prophet to the "rough he-goat which is the king of Greece" (Dan. 7: 6; 8: 3-8, 20-22; 11: 3), and explaining the application of providential direction to the enterprise of the Macedonian, a claim he was accustomed to emphasize. Perhaps through his former teacher, too, he had become familiar with Jewish literature, and was induced to pass up the slight disrespect shown him in the light of the stability of the national character of the Jews as exemplified in that literature.

At any rate, the Jews received civil treatment at the hand of Alexander and readily yielded to the new master of the Persian empire. The exclusiveness of the East had met the Hellenizer from the West. Perhaps it is not difficult to imagine that in the first flush of the new acquaintance each stood before the other in wonder and in doubt. There was no clash of arms at this time, but there will be a mighty conflict of ideas on the battlefields of Judea. Greek culture and Jewish revelation will strive for supremacy in the very courts of the temple of Jehovah.

ALEXANDER AND THE SAMARITANS

An interesting sidelight upon the newly instituted worship at Samaria (Shechem) is given by the Jewish historian. It will be recalled that, during the Persian period and as a result of the drastic social reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, Manasseh of the priestly line in Judea had been promised a temple by his father-in-law as a part of the rival worship at Gerizim. Sanballat now found his opportunity to fulfil that promise. He made his way to Tyre during the siege of that city and, renouncing Darius, placed seven thousand of his subjects in the army of Alexander. He then made request for the Temple, indicating that it would be of advantage to the conqueror "to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest when the nation is of one mind, and united, upon any attempt for innovation it prove troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to the kings of Assyria" (*Jos. Ant.* 11: 8: 4). Leave was given and Sanballat made haste to erect the temple before his death which occurred immediately following the siege of Gaza. Thus the worship on Mt. Gerizim was fully established with Manasseh, a brother of the high priest Jaddua, officiating in the rival temple. Josephus reminds us again that the Samaritans were

Jews when it proved their advantage, otherwise they were "Sidonians" or Shechemites (11: 8: 6). After this manner, therefore, the date of the establishment of worship at the northern center is linked with the conquest of Alexander, who seems to have had a desire to pacify the restless elements in his kingdom, and at the same time, use their resources for the propagation of his enterprise.²

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

Upon the death of Alexander in 323, confusion in the affairs of government reigned supreme. There was no heir to the throne. The Maccabean historian says, "Alexander parted his kingdom among his servants while yet he was alive" (1 Macc. 1: 6). A contradictory source (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 7: 26) claims that the dying leader willed his supremacy "to the strongest." Certain it is that the army leaders became military satraps over various divisions of the empire, each aspiring to subdue his neighbor and assume dictatorship. There were five of these successors, or Diadochi as they are called, until the year 301. These were Seleucus, the lord of Babylon; Antigonus, the ambitious ruler of Phrygia and the ablest of all; Ptolemy Lagi (son of Lagus), who as Soter became master of Egypt; Lysimachus, who had Thrace and Bithynia; and Cassander, who held Macedonia and Greece. At Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 Antigonus was forced to yield to Seleucus. Of the four only Seleucus and Ptolemy entered the affairs of the Palestinian Jews, the former with his capital at Antioch of Syria, and the latter firmly settled at Alexandria.

²It is rather clear that Josephus has mixed his chronology here, placing this event a century later than its occurrence (Cf. Neh. 13: 28).

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD

Our story is almost lost during the next 150 years. Josephus says little of this period. The first century reflects kindly dealings with the Ptolemies, while the last half-century records the dark and disastrous efforts of the Seleucids to impose Hellenism upon Judah and ultimately to uproot all trace of Judaism, a daring adventure that called forth the patriotic fervor of a new nation and brought in a hundred years of independence. In general, the periods of the Ptolemies (320-198)³ and the Seleucids (198-167) are marked by three characteristics:

1. *The Jewish Dispersion.* In the founding of Alexandria there was a large Jewish colony, and it is said that in time the continued emigration from Palestine made it largely a Jewish city. Jews had equal rights with Greeks and other inhabitants; synagogues arose in Egypt; Jews were governed in civil matters by their own magistrates; and their religious customs were given free rein. The same was true at Antioch. Seleucus I planted colonies of Jews in the new cities which he founded. With the newly acquired passion for commerce they moved out along the great trade routes of the empire until they were found in all the countries of the civilized world. Those Jews who came into closest contact with Grecian influences, especially in Alexandria as we shall see, modified their interpretations of Moses in terms of current philosophic thinking, but in all essential respects the Jews of the Dispersion remained faithful to their traditions and kept open communication with the Holy City by the regular payment of the Temple tax and by frequent pilgrimages to the annual feasts.

³These dates represent control of Palestine. Ptolemy took Jerusalem in 320. The Seleucid era in Syria began in 312, though Judea was not finally taken until 198.

2. *The Government of Jerusalem.* The home government at Jerusalem was largely in the hands of the priestly family, the high priest being the civil as well as the religious leader among his people. The Ptolemies were content with this arrangement. The annual tribute was paid regularly and local affairs were undisturbed. For about a century these leaders were generally conscientious and worthy, it seems. Special mention is made by Josephus of the influence of Simon the Just (*Ant.* 12: 2: 5), one of the outstanding high priests of the time. It is only when we reach the Seleucid period that corruption appears. During much of this time the office was bought and sold. The politicians were unscrupulous and covetous. The treasures of the Temple proved too attractive for kings with large military schemes. Many of the high priests themselves were morally corrupt.

3. *The Spread of Hellenism.* Greek customs, speech, and worship rapidly covered the world outside of Palestine, and while the battle was long and hotly contested about the sacred precincts of the Temple, even Judea felt the force of the innovation and Jerusalem was torn with the heresy. Greek cities, Greek games, the Greek language and literature and works of art, and above all, the Greek spirit, like a tropical sun upon the ice floe of the Arctic, beamed upon Jewish exclusiveness and the Hebrew religion with telling effect. Inroads were made into the thought realm as men leaned toward the new ideas or clung to the old. Liberalism lined up against conservatism; the skeptic and the fanatic put in their appearance. Would all be lost? Would the spirit of the cross be forever impossible before the onrush of the spirit of pride, culture, and egotism? Would Old Testament faith and morality be swept aside? Would the hope of the Messiah pale and die as Zeus usurped the throne of Jehovah and Plato dispossessed Moses?

IV. THE JEWS UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

Ptolemy I, surnamed Soter (323-285), captured Jerusalem in 320. Many Jews were taken captive and settled in Egypt. Their moral integrity was recognized by the king in exacting only their oath of allegiance to those in control. Josephus tells us that there were other Jews who "of their own accord went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy" (*Ant.* 12: 1: 1). Under Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (285-247), the condition of the Jews was most happy. To him is ascribed the founding and development of the great library of Alexandria, the building of the lighthouse on the island of Pharos, which became one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the encouragement of commerce under a maritime supremacy, and, particularly as affecting the Jews, the release of the captives brought from Jerusalem (120,000 according to Josephus) and the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek.

THE SEPTUAGINT

We must label as tradition the rather ornate account that Josephus gives us of the work of the Seventy. According to that story Ptolemy's librarian, Demetrius Phalerius, in his desire to "gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth," a wish shared by the king also, had impressed the monarch with the great importance of having the Jewish books translated into Greek. Accordingly Philadelphus wrote to the high priest, accompanying his letter with an appropriate gift of vessels for the Temple, asking that six elders from each of the twelve tribes of Israel, those most skilful in the interpretation of their law, be sent to Alexandria for this important work. Eleazer, the high priest, responded graciously; the elders were received

with great dignity by the king; and the work was begun under most auspicious circumstances. Care was taken for the comfort of the workers; their accustomed diet was prepared; seats were arranged in the presence of the king, and twelve days were spent in conference about matters of state. The actual site of their literary task was a quiet spot on an island in the Mediterranean. The hours of the day were divided between work and recreation, each day's labors being begun with the ritualistic purification. In this way the translation was speeded up so that it was completed in seventy-two days. An addition to the story from other sources says that Ptolemy assigned each man a separate cell where he made his translation and that at the end of the seventy days it was found that all of the translations agreed in the minutest details. The scholars were returned home crowned with honors and well rewarded for their signal service.

Just how much the story has been "dressed up" is hard to determine. We are certain that the Pentateuch was translated at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II. The completion of the Greek Bible was probably later and by different hands, the entire work being extant by the middle of the second century B.C. The Septuagint (usually referred to as "the LXX") was everywhere adopted by the Hellenistic Jews and soon won for itself a deserved popularity. Through it the Old Testament was given to the world. Here many of the spiritually minded Greeks learned the tenets of the Jewish faith and became "proselytes" to the worship of Jehovah. It was the Bible of Christ and the apostles. It is valuable today for the light it sheds on the Hebrew text.

THE GREATEST OF THE PTOLEMIES

Treaty infidelity caused Ptolemy III, Euergetes (247-222), to make war on the Seleucid king. He overran Syria as far as Babylon and Susa, bringing home rich booty which included the images of Egyptian gods which had been carried away by Cambyses. The campaign gave him control of Cœle-Syria, Damascus, and the coast lines all the way to the Hellespont. The restoration of the gods to their respective temples gave him the name of "The Benefactor." He was a liberal patron of the arts and a noted builder. "In his reign Egypt reached the highest point of military glory, prosperity and wealth."⁴

On his return from Syria he manifested his good will toward the Jews by offering sacrifices in the Temple at Jerusalem and making rich gifts to their worship. A threatened rupture with the nation, occasioned by an avaricious high priest, Onias II, was turned to good account by one Joseph, son of Tobias, the hero of a story told by Josephus (*Ant.* 12: 4: 2f) that throws light upon the later disrepute of tax-gatherers.

According to story, the high priest, "one of little soul and a great lover of money," withheld the annual tribute of twenty talents of silver. Joseph, his nephew, "young of age, but of great reputation among the people for gravity, prudence and justice," advised against this course of action and obtained appointment as envoy to Egypt. On his way south he chanced to join the company of "the principal men of the cities of Syria and Phœnicia" who went up to "bid for their taxes, for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city." Joseph was laughed at for his poverty, but reaching the king's court and being introduced by the Egyptian ambassador at Jerusalem,

⁴Art. in the New International Ency.

to whom Joseph had shown great consideration, he was received for his pleasant manner and became the guest of the king, to the manifest discomfiture of his companions along the way. When the taxes were farmed out, Joseph accused the bidders of graft and himself offered the king double for each bid. Thus he became the receiver-general of the taxes for the whole of Palestine, which position he held with honor and in great wealth for twenty-two years. Jew and Gentile alike felt the brunt of his exacting methods. Cities that were slow in raising funds suffered the loss of some of their principal men and the forced surrender of valuable property. The character of the man is painted in glowing colors by the historian who delighted to picture Jewish favor with kings, while in the background of the story one can foresee the intense hatred of the publicans of the time of Christ.

JERUSALEM PASSED TO ASIAN CONTROL

The reign of the fourth Ptolemy, Philopator (222-205), reflects a continuation of the clash with the Seleucid kings. Antiochus III (the Great) seized many of the Egyptian possessions in Syria and in 218 defeated the army sent to recover them. The next year, however, at Raphia, Ptolemy took the field in person and signally defeated his Asian rival. Like most of the rulers of Egypt during this period, Philopator gave attention to literary pursuits and to the beautifying of his realm. He is credited with the writing of the tragedy *Adonis* and the building of a temple to Homer.

Epiphanes, the fifth Ptolemy (205-181), witnessed the passing of the control of Palestine into Seleucid hands. Antiochus took advantage of his minority, seized Egypt's foreign possessions, and threatened Egypt itself. So Jerusalem changed hands again in 203. Then Scopas, general of Epiphanes, recaptured

the city in 199 only to lose it finally at Panium in 198. One hundred and twenty years of Ptolemaic control now ended. Judea, the football of nations, had a brief respite before the later Seleucid ambitions evoked the war of independence of the Maccabean era.

V. THE JEWS UNDER THE SELEUCIDS

The first four Seleucid kings seem to have treated the Jews kindly. This was certainly true of Seleucus Nicator, the first king, who assumed control of Syria in 312, and established the Jews in Antioch and the new cities of his realm. Palestine itself had no part in the affairs of these early rulers. Egypt's power was too great to be challenged by the eastern kingdom. It remained for Antiochus (III) the Great (223-187) to dispute with the Ptolemies the right of control of the destinies of the Jews.

The battle of Raphia, near Gaza, in 217, as we have seen, went against Antiochus, Philopator being able to check the ambition of his northern rival. But, in 203, aided by the Macedonian king, he renewed his attack upon Egypt through Palestine. A story in the third book of *Maccabees* tells how Philopator, in his elation over the victory at Raphia, visited Jerusalem, offered sacrifices, bestowed gifts on the Temple, forced his way into the Holy of Holies to the great consternation of the people, and was struck down with paralysis as a punishment for the sacrilege. It is said that in retaliation he gave vent to his feelings, upon his return home, by severely persecuting the Jews there and robbing them of their liberties. Whether this is true or not, it seems that the Jerusalem Jews welcomed Antiochus in the victory which now turned Palestine into his hands. Their land had suffered greatly with every invasion, whether the invader came from the north or the south,

"both when he was beaten and when he beat the others" (Jos. *Ant.* 12: 3: 3), so, even the semblance of stability in the Asian government must have appealed strongly to the Jews of Palestine.

ANTIOCHUS AND THE JEWS

Responding to this welcome, Antiochus the Great lavished favors upon Jerusalem, its Temple and its citizens. The privileges granted included a pension for providing sacrifices, material for beautifying the Temple, freedom of their own laws, release from taxes for three years, with a remission of one-third of their taxes in the future to repay for losses, freedom for those carried away as captives, and support of the Jewish law forbidding foreigners to enter the Temple and barring from the city such animals as the law called unclean. Further, as expressive of his cordial spirit toward the Jews as a race, he gave instructions that two thousand families of those residing in Mesopotamia be transported into Lydia and Phrygia to quell sedition there, saying, "I am persuaded that they will be well-disposed guardians of our possessions because of their piety toward God."

Scopas, the Egyptian general, succeeded in placing a garrison in Jerusalem in 199 but was forced to yield all to Antiochus at Panium, in the valley of the Jordan, in 198. The conqueror thought to press his campaign and invade Egypt, but at this important moment in the affairs of the East there came an authoritative word from a new and threatening power in the far west,—Rome. The intimation reached the Seleucid king that the Romans had assumed guardianship of the young Ptolemy of Egypt. Antiochus now proposed to give his daughter, Cleopatra, in marriage to Epiphanes, promising a dowry of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, and agreeing to share the revenues

equally with his son-in-law. This brought peace, and Jerusalem was content to look definitely to the East for direction and influence.

ROME TAKES A HAND

The story of Rome's development during the period under consideration is told in the following pages. It is needful at this point, however, to indicate the occasion of her entrance into Syrian affairs and to observe how subsequent events connect this occurrence with the story of the Jews.

Certain Greek cities of Asia Minor reported to Rome concerning the apparent designs of Antiochus to gain possession of the entire Macedonian realm. His campaigns had given that impression. Rome's rapid spread throughout Italy and her defense against the daring exploits of the Carthaginians impressed the Greek cities that here was the only protector from Syrian wrongs. At this time, also, Hannibal, crushed in Italy and yet swearing vengeance on Rome, fled from Carthage and took refuge with Antiochus the Great. The latter was counselled to invade Italy at once, but suspecting Hannibal of treachery he chose rather to invade Greece. He was stopped by the Roman army at Thermopylæ in 191. The next year, 190, his army was utterly routed at Magnesia in Asia Minor, and in the peace of 188 he was forced to cede all territory west of the Taurus mountains, to pay the cost of the war, and as a guarantee of payment to send twenty hostages to Rome, including Antiochus the king's son.

The direct control of affairs in Syria and Palestine by Roman power will not come for a century yet, but the intervention at this time undoubtedly affected the relations between Syria and Egypt in such way as to keep peace there. On the other hand, the death of Antiochus meant the passing of a friend of the Jews.

The tragedies of the succeeding reign would at least have been deferred if Rome had not interfered. Antiochus began the policy of robbing temples to pay tribute and met his death in such an attempt in 187.

FIRST ATTEMPT ON TEMPLE TREASURES

Seleucus IV, Philopator (187-175), inherited the "chronic impecuniosity" of his father, and appropriated his method of relief. It was during his reign that the first raid on the Temple at Jerusalem was made, the attention of the king to the reputed treasures there having been attracted through priestly rivalry. Simon, a Benjamite, hated Onias III, the high priest, and out of malice went to the governor of Cœle-Syria and urged him to plunder the Temple. Heliodorus was entrusted with the task. According to the account in *2 Maccabees* (Chapter 3), the attempt to enter the sacred precincts was miraculously checked. On the return to Antioch, Heliodorus murdered Seleucus in the hope of securing the throne for himself; but Antiochus, the brother of the late king, now on his way from Rome, obtained the kingdom, his place as hostage having been taken by Demetrius, the lawful heir to the crown.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, 175-164

With the coming of this Antiochus to the throne, dubbed "The Brilliant" (Epiphanes) by his courtiers and "The Madman" (Epimanes) by the common people, the struggle between Judaism and Hellenism in Palestine reached the point of open outbreak and long-drawn-out conflict. Up to this time Jerusalem had enjoyed religious toleration. Even Antiochus the Great had continued the policies of the Ptolemies in this regard. That the Palestinian Jews would remain conservative in the matter of Grecian influence was to be expected. That these influences should gain a foothold

there during the long incumbency of the Seleucids was inevitable. A Greek party appeared in Jerusalem and was in the background of priestly factionalism that was destined to rend Judaism asunder.

Antiochus had spent twelve years as a hostage in Rome. He had imbibed freely of Greek culture and Roman legalism. On the throne of Syria he set himself to establish a State religion as the means of unity in the empire, and the religion selected was naturally the Greek polytheism. A man of egotism and willful determination, he would brook no opposition to his plans.

JASON AND MENELAUS

Not only did the radical element among the Jews encourage the king in his desire to Hellenize Jerusalem, but there were men of the stripe of Simon who were ambitious to usurp the priesthood and bring the sacred office with all its privileges and power under political influences. Such a man was Jesus, the brother of Onias the high priest, who now adopted the Greek name Jason. He offered Antiochus a large sum of money for the honor, and an additional sum for permission to set up a place of exercise in the city. "He brought his nation over to the Greekish fashion;" he made the young men "wear a hat" and call themselves *Antiochians* (2 Macc. 4: 9ff). The priests neglected the sacrifices to throw the discus. Contributions were sent up to the celebration of the Greek games in honor of Hercules at Tyre every fifth year. Ritual requirements were cast aside, and Jewish lads sought in every way to conceal their nationality.

Menelaus, brother of Simon, was sent by Jason about this time to take the tribute to the king. Using the interview to his own advantage, he offered 300 talents

more for the priesthood than Jason had paid and was duly appointed. Jason fled the country. When the promised price of the high priesthood was delayed and the king was pressing Menelaus, he stole certain vessels of the Temple to raise the revenue. Onias, the true high priest now in retirement, protested against such violation of propriety and was soon put out of the way. This brought the better element of the Jews to open revolt, but Menelaus succeeded in pacifying the king, and so kept his office.

THE EXPEDITIONS AGAINST EGYPT

The death of Cleopatra opened the way for Antiochus Epiphanes to renew hostilities with Egypt. His two ambitions seemed to be to conquer that country and to wipe out everything Jewish in Palestine. The latter was a development from his failure to do the other. There were several expeditions into the south country, certainly two and probably four. The Jewish historians seem to confuse the accomplishments of these campaigns, but they are sure of their ground as they recount the abuses toward Jerusalem.

On the first expedition (171) Ptolemy Philometer was unprepared to resist and retreated before the invader. Pelusium was taken. At the same time, or during the next year, he "took the strong cities and the spoils thereof." Meanwhile a rumor became current in Judea that he was dead. Acting upon this, Jason sought to regain the priesthood from Menelaus by force of arms. Epiphanes, thinking Jerusalem was in revolt, hastened from Egypt, fell upon the city, entered the sanctuary, and stripped it of its gold and silver vessels with much of its rich decorations. Within three days he slaughtered 40,000 people, according to *1 Maccabees*, and carried away a like number as

captives. To add to the distress of the people, he placed over them a harsh governor, Philip, who ground them unmercifully.

The Jews of Alexandria themselves assisted materially in the defeat of Antiochus on a subsequent expedition. They had learned of his conduct at Jerusalem the year before, and now united their efforts with the Egyptian forces to drive the tyrant out of their borders. On the final attempt to take Egypt the ambitious king was met by Lænus, the Roman ambassador. With characteristic pride and authority the Roman ordered him to abandon all hostile measures toward that country. Epiphanes, playing for time, replied that he would take the matter under advisement. The historian records that the consulate drew a circle about the Syrian with his staff and demanded a decision before he should move out of it. And Judea had to pay for this blow to the pride of Antiochus. He sent an army into Jerusalem and, after waiting for the Sabbath day when the Jews would not resist, spitefully destroyed much people, burned the city, took captive men, women and children. He erected a garrison on the old stronghold known as the City of David, a fortress that remained a thorn in the side of the Jews for a quarter of a century.

RELIGIOUS CONFORMITY

Not content with physical destruction, he now issued a decree that all his subject peoples should become one nation, leaving their own laws and conforming to one religious practice. The offerings and sacrifices of the Temple were forbidden; officers were instructed to profane the Sabbath and the feasts, to pollute the sanctuary, to set up altars and chapels of idol worship, and to sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts on the

Temple altar. This order was carried out ruthlessly on a fixed day. The books of the law were torn to shreds; the zealous keepers of the ritual were put to death; mothers were slain for having their children circumcised, while the infants were hanged about their necks.

In the execution of the decree were seen some of the most pathetic and devout expressions of loyalty to God and to the Mosaic law to be found anywhere. Eleazar was made to eat swine's flesh upon the improvised altar. Under the promise of protection if he would pretend to eat, he spurned the offer in a rage, referred to the example he would thus set before the youth of the land, and went heroically to his death. A mother with her seven sons was compelled to see each of them tortured in some horrible manner upon the refusal to recant, while they manfully cheered her endurance and protested their devotion to the cause. The mother, in turn, exhorted each of them and finally paid the extreme penalty.

But the king had gone too far. The excesses of the arch-Hellenizer brought telling reaction. The martyr spirit swept like a prairie fire throughout Judea. A fight for religious freedom was the natural result of such oppression, and that is the story of the Maccabean revolt in the next chapter.

VI. LITERATURE

Jewish thought and life during the Greek period have been preserved for us in two very important books which form a part of the Apocrypha. These are the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, or *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the former representing Palestinian Judaism strictly and the latter reflecting the Judaism of Alexandria with its Hellenistic modes of

thought. The books are types of two systems of theology, the Rabbinical Theology and the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy, respectively, which are treated in the closing chapter.

SIRACH

Period. Next to *Tobit*, this is probably the oldest of the Apocryphal books. While there is much uncertainty as to exact date, it seems preferable to choose the early date of about 250, surely not later than 170 B. C. It was written in Hebrew, probably in the Ptolemaic period. It is a picture of Jewish life and doctrine in Palestine. The Jewish name of the book indicates the reputed author, the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*. It was translated by a grandson of the author bearing the same name. The Greek translation was called *Ecclesiasticus* or *Churchly*, and was the only form in which the work was known until the recent discovery of the major part of the original (Mrs. A. S. Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai*, Cambridge, 1898).

Biblical Setting. The book belongs to the wisdom-writing of the Jews, resembling Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. It differs from them in that it is not a collection of sayings loosely thrown together, but more of a treatise on varied topics. The author believed in God and was devoted to the study of the Law, the Prophets, and the Other Books. This threefold division indicates that the Canon was already formed. The keynote is sounded in the first verse, "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him forever." The book praises the scribes, the office having arisen during the interbiblical period. It uses the term in the New Testament sense. A form of Golden Rule appears in the injunction, "Judge of thy neighbor by thyself; and be discreet in every point" (31: 15).

Nature of the Teachings. The work is a practical discussion of ethical and social relations, based upon the study, experience, and wide observation of the author. The attempt is made, apparently, to solve the problem, "What ought I to do under this circumstance?" Place is given to the noblest sentiments of friendship, forgiveness, and humanitarianism. Some sharp things are said about false friends and about deference to the rich and disregard of the poor. The author values a good woman and praises the trait of silence. He has little regard for children and advocates harshness toward them. Physicians are agents of God; sickness is due to sin.

The Hymn of the Forefathers. A special feature of the writing is the eulogy on the heroes of Israel's past (chapters 44-50). It reads like the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. It lists the forefathers from Enoch down to Nehemiah and devotes the last word of encomium to Simon the Just, one of the outstanding high priests of the Greek period. He is described as a man who looked after the religious and political life of the people, fortified the city, repaired the Temple, and built the great reservoir. He is the typical embodiment of those priestly qualities found in the great men of any period of Israel's history, and he stands out in bold contrast with such false leaders as Jason and Menelaus who had become tainted by heathenism and warped by covetousness.

Value of the Book. "This interesting book is not only the greatest monument of Palestinian Judaism," says Fairweather, "but also the brightest and fullest reflection of the manners and customs of the age that produced it."⁵ Edersheim is quoted in *Speaker's Commentary* as saying, "If we would know what a cul-

⁵*From the Exile to the Advent*, p. 121.

tured, liberal and yet genuine Jew thought and felt on the great questions of the day; if we would gain insight into the public opinion, morals, society, and even manners, at that period—we find the materials for it in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*.” As its Greek name implies, it was used as a reading book in the Greek churches. It holds a place of eminent respect in literary references and in religious experience of later times. George Eliot tells how *Adam Bede* “read in the apocrypha the son of Sirach’s keen-edged words,” and several references in Shakespeare’s writings would indicate familiarity with these pages. The suggestion has been made that Bernard’s hymn, “Jesus, the very thought of Thee,” was based on Wisdom’s praise of herself (24: 20f). John Bunyan tells in *Grace Abounding* how he found a verse in this book (2: 10), “a jewel in a swine’s snout,” which comforted him and clung to his memory, though it was not in the Scriptures.⁶ In point of theology, however, it is disappointing in that there is no word about immortality or the coming of the Messiah. The author is one with the tenor of the Psalms in the general view of death.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

Author and Date. Although this book bears the name of Solomon, we are sure that the author was not Solomon. He was evidently a Jew of Alexandria, versed in the Greek language and acquainted with Greek philosophy, but his identity is unknown. He did not use the name of the wisest of men for deception, but to add dignity to his production,—a custom which grew up in that period and which has led scholars to apply the name *pseudepigrapha* to such literature. In the matter of the date, also, there is lack of certainty. The

⁶Grant, *Between the Testaments*, p. 128f.

weight of evidence points to the first half of the last century before Christ, 100 to 50 B. C.

Purpose and Doctrine. Many Jews had turned their backs on the Old Testament and were delving into the current philosophies. The Stoic and Epicurean doctrines were particularly attractive. Over against this "earthly wisdom" the author pictures the true Wisdom.—

"For she is a breath of the power of God,
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
And an image of his goodness." (7: 25f.)

There is a hint of the cardinal virtues of the Stoics (8:7), the Epicurean love of pleasure (2: 1-9), and the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence (8: 20; 15: 8). Salvation by culture is dangerously implied in many of the beautiful sentences extolling Wisdom. But the author accepts the Old Testament and shapes his phrases like unto its wisdom literature. He is firmly convinced of immortality, and this conclusion is based on the imperfection of human life and the everlasting goodness of God.

"For God created man to be immortal,
And made him to be an image of his own eternity." (2: 23.)

"For to know thee (God) is perfect righteousness:
Yea, to know thy power is the root of immortality." (15: 3.)

God is a God of love; Fatherhood and Sonship are stressed. There is no word concerning the Messiah.

Value. In the minds of some this book is "the gem of the whole Apocrypha."⁷ Dean Farrar is quoted⁸ as calling it "the most beautiful and important work of

⁷Gregg, *Between the Testaments*, p. 118.

⁸Op. Cit., p. 124.

Jewish Alexandrianism." It reveals the attempt to harmonize Old Testament revelation with Greek philosophy. One wonders if this contact has robbed the writer of his Messianic hope. But many of his fine phrases have come down to help enrich our devotional literature.

"O Lord, thou lover of souls." (11: 26.)

"The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God;

. . . In the sight of the unwise they seem to die;
And their departure is taken for misery . . .

But they are in peace . . .

Their hope is full of immortality (eternity)." (3: 1-4.)

The book points toward the New Testament and Christian thought. John and Paul will run counter to some of these philosophic conceptions and will direct our minds to the eternal Logos who is the "Wisdom of God and the Power of God."

VII. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

THE DECLINE OF GREECE

The political history of Greece in the post-Alexandrian era is largely the story of a struggle for existence. Attempts to throw off Macedonian supremacy, known as the Lamian War, ended in a defeat at Crannon in 322 at the hands of Antipater, regent of Macedonia.

Two efforts were made at federation of the Greek cities for the purpose of maintaining their independence against foreign invaders. These were the Ætolian and Achæan Leagues, with similar motives but the keenest jealousies, so that they rarely agreed on policies. The former is mentioned first in 314, but its origin dates back to a time immediately following the defeat of Greece by Philip of Macedon (Chæronea, 338). It maintained itself for about a century against Macedonia and the Achæan League. That the Ætolian League

did not represent the true spirit of the Greeks is shown by its early, selfish alliance with the Romans. Later, however, it joined forces with Philip V of Macedonia, who lost to Rome in 197. The freedom of Greece was proclaimed by Flaminius at Corinth at the next celebration of the Isthmian Games (196). The League rallied to bring Antiochus the Great to the rescue of the East against the West, but Antiochus lost in 190 and in 189 the political influence of the Ætolians was crushed.

The Achæan League (280 on) was a readjustment, following the rivalries which prevailed in the domains of Alexander the Great, of a former confederation of twelve cities which had played a vital part in the earlier history of the states. The new organization came into prominence in 249 when Aratus was made its leader. The aim was to free the Greek peninsula from Macedonian rule. It represented the best elements of what remained of the Grecian character. In 242 the last garrison was driven from Corinth and that city became the center of Achæan influence and power. By 225 the greater part of the Peloponnesus and many cities in other parts of Greece were included. Under Philopœmen "the last of the Greeks" (208) the League held out for many years against all enemies, but in 198 it was induced to ally itself with the Romans. Sparta, the ancient rival, was brought in in 192. The favor of Rome under the protectorate continued until near the close of the period.

In the matter of government by the League, we have perhaps the best example in antiquity of the federal system. In foreign affairs the confederacy acted as a whole, but in internal relations each city was a unit with equal rights among the other cities. The public council met twice a year and was attended, not by representatives, but by all males above 30 years of age. The

meetings rotated among the cities. Something of the old power of united Hellas was felt under the generalship of Aratus and Philopœmen.

The period under review was the age of Epicureanism and Stoicism. Epicurus (342-270) began his school in Athens in 306 and was very popular for the next quarter of a century. Zeno the Stoic lived during the close of the fourth and the opening of the third century, B. C. The two systems created profound impressions on the thinkers and on the literature of the times, and vitally affected the practical living of their adherents.

The power of the states was gone, but the influence of Greece did not cease with the loss of political independence. Greek cities arose everywhere in the path of Alexander, and did for the Orient what her commonwealths were never able to accomplish. Mention has been made of Alexandria. The Hellenistic Age was an age of learning in this southern metropolis. The Museum, with its art galleries and zoological and botanical gardens, became a real university. The library is said to have contained more than 500,000 manuscripts, virtually all the writings of antiquity. Antioch, the capital of Syria and the home of the Seleucids, became a great Greek city. Pergamum in Asia Minor wrought deliverance from the invasion of Gauls to the satisfaction of all Greece, and celebrated her achievement with so much of architecture and sculpture that she rivaled the Athenian glory. Rhodes, the island city, was known for her commerce and for her art. Famous orators, like Cicero and Caesar, studied here. Greek science, as well, has left its roster of the great. A few names tell the story,—Euclid and geometry; Archimedes and engineering, with the boast, "Give me a fulcrum on which to rest and I will move the earth;" Galen and medicine; Pytheas and navigation, probably

the first Greek to reach Britain; Reatosthenes and geography, the learned librarian of Alexandria having estimated the circumference of the globe; and Ptolemy and astronomy, his theory of the solar system going unchallenged until the discovery of Copernicus in the sixteenth century A. D.

ROME'S WIDENING DOMAIN

Rome subdued the Latins in 338, the year that witnessed the Greek submission to Macedonia. Etruria and Campania had yielded a short while before. The Samnites, the most virile race of central Italy, contested with Roman ambition for fifty years, and it was not until 290 that they were forced to recognize such authority. Southern Italy, the home of Greek colonies since the middle of the eighth century and known as *Magna Græcia*, succumbed in 266. Tarentum, the most important of these colonies, called on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in the mother country, for aid. With an army of 25,000 men and many war elephants, and with a dream of an empire in the West to rival the Alexandrian realm in the East, he joined battle with the Roman legions. But his victories proved too costly and he offered peace. The Roman Senate, however, would not treat with an enemy on Italian soil, so the struggle was pressed until Pyrrhus sailed away. Rome had not only become mistress of all Italy but, in this last conflict, had experienced her first encounter with foreign peoples. Her power was recognized by Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt who sent an embassy (273) and concluded a treaty with the Republic.

ROMANIZATION OF ITALY

Like the Greeks, the Romans began very early to establish their colonies in various sections of Italy. Veteran soldiers or poor plebeians became the colonists,

each colony becoming a Little Rome maintaining allegiance to the capital and serving as a garrison over neighboring subjects. These outposts were connected with Rome by means of the famous Roman roads, many of which are still in existence. They served first as military highways, then as routes for trade and travel. Thus they contributed to the unity of the Italians and to the progress of the growing Republic. The population was divided into three classes,—citizens, subjects (colonists), and allies. The first named lived in the capital and enjoyed the full privileges of participation in the affairs of government, while the other two classes, representing outlying districts, were restricted in their rights by disabilities of one kind or another that were often oppressive. The old struggle between the *populus* and the *plebs* had lasted a hundred years, and had ended in 286 with the removal of all social and political barriers.

THE WAR WITH CARTHAGE

Rome had gained supremacy in Italy, but she must now cross swords with another claimant of superior strength to determine the seat of control of the western world. This struggle would try out the solidity of the Italian union and the very foundations of Roman government.

Carthage was settled by the Phœnicians probably a century (880?) before the traditional date (753) of the founding of Rome. There is even more obscurity about the early records of the African city than about Rome. We have seen that Cambyses, on his invasion of Egypt in 527, was tempted to undertake an attack on the city of the far west. At that time it had already gained renown because of its thriving trade, both with the inland region and with the isles of the Medi-

terranean. Founded by a pioneer race of navigators on the best harbor of North Africa, her ships touched the shores of Spain, passed through the Pillars of Hercules, and braved the dangers of the west coast. In language and customs Carthage remained Phœnician, isolated from the constant migrations of the Aryan families of southern Europe, and far enough removed from the military ambitions of Persia and Macedonia to become, by the middle of the third century B. C., the mistress of a commercial empire stretching from Cyrene to Gibraltar and including colonies on the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain. The governmental affairs of Carthage were directed by a hundred men of the merchant class, an aristocracy of capitalists who cared little for freemen and slaves and whose wealth easily provided mercenary soldiers and the world's first Dreadnaughts.

The First Punic War, 264-241, originated over the problem of Sicily. The Carthaginian colony inspired Rome to fear for her own recent possessions in southern Italy and to desire this new treasure so near her own borders. The war lasted twenty-three years with varying results. Rome overran Sicily and also invaded Africa; but the main struggle was on the sea. Handicapped and distressed by the well-manned ships of Carthage, Rome found it imperative to provide a navy. It is said that within sixty days her newly commissioned shipbuilders produced one hundred and twenty vessels of war. In spite of the loss of her fleet by storm on three occasions, she hurried her triremes off the docks, pressed the enemy into a great battle along the Egyptian Isles, and brought Carthage to sue for peace. In the terms of settlement Sicily was yielded to Rome, prisoners were returned without ransom, and the payment of a large indemnity was assessed. One of the stories of Roman valor is connected with the invasion

of Africa under Regulus and his defeat and capture. He was at length sent to Rome as a legate bearing the offer of peace, having first been put under oath that in case of the failure of his mission he should return as a prisoner to Carthage. Before the Roman Senate he urged that there be no cessation of activities, that Carthage was exhausted and could be completely overcome. He then bravely returned, according to his agreement and in the face of the earnest protestations of his friends, and was brought to a tragic death by the Carthaginians.

During the next twenty-three years both contenders silently made preparation for the real conflict that was to come. Carthage was beaten but not mastered. She had lost the monopoly of the western sea but she had not given up hope. Rome seized Sardinia and Corsica under the pretense that the commercial activities of the islands were threats of war. The two islands became the first Roman province and Sicily the second. The period marks the beginning of this system which was to have such far-reaching results in the life and welfare of the Republic. It was during the interim, also, that the Gauls of northern Italy were finally overcome (231-222) and the Alps made the boundary of Italy. Carthage was busy as well. A new empire now arose under her protection in Spain, where silver mines offered revenue and hardy tribes gave promise of becoming seasoned soldiers. This brought uneasiness to Rome and led to the outbreak of the Second Punic or the Hannibalic War (218-202).

Hannibal, though only twenty-seven years of age, had become a veteran fighter in the Spanish conquest. When he was a lad of nine his father is said to have led him to the altar where he took the oath of eternal enmity to Rome. He ranks with Alexander the Great in military genius. Fired by the remembrance of his

father's generalship and with the passion for retaliation, he was ready to begin the "most famous contest that ancient history records." His plan was to carry the war to Italian soil, and so, in 218, he set out for Spain with an army estimated at 80,000 infantry, 12,000 calvary, and 37 elephants. The passage of the Pyrenees and Alps proved disastrous, and after five months he reached the plains of northern Italy with approximately only half of his troops. Rome, expecting to press the conflict into Spain and Africa, suddenly realized she must defend her homes from the daring invader. Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator for the emergency and an army was thrust into the field.

The movements of Hannibal during the thirteen years of his stay in Italy indicate that his plan was not to attempt to storm the capital but rather to induce the subject nations to revolt and thus to undermine the Republic itself. In this he was mistaken, for not a city opened its gates to him. This gave Fabius time to train his troops and study the Carthaginian's methods. So carefully did he avoid open encounter and so persistently did he dog the heels of Hannibal that he was nicknamed *Cunctator*, "The Laggard." Later the title became a symbol of honor to the shrewd leader. The consuls did not approve the delay, however, and, assuming control, joined battle at Lake Trasimenus in 217 and at Cannæ in 216. The results were disastrous. Livy reports that at Cannæ 70,000 Romans were slaughtered, including 80 members of the Senate and one of the two consuls. Hannibal here reached the apex of his glory. Why he did not press on to Rome is one of the unanswerable questions of history. Instead, he made overtures of peace. With almost foolhardy bluntness the Senate forbade the approach of his emissaries. Yet Hannibal moved up and down the land without molestation from Rome. There were fluctuations

of faith at Carthage at this time, but the friends of the youthful general won out and fresh troops were dispatched under his brother Hasdrubal. Scipio, now in charge of military tactics, was determined to carry the war to other territory. He succeeded in driving the Carthaginians from Spain, hastily returned to prevent the meeting of the brothers, destroyed the army of Hasdrubal, and then invaded Africa. Hannibal was summoned from Italy to check his progress. The armies met at Zama (202) where the Carthaginian met his first and only defeat. Scipio was accorded triumphal entry into Rome and was given the honorary name of *Africanus* while Carthage sued for peace. The terms of settlement were severe. She yielded Spain, all of her ships except ten, agreed to enter no wars without the consent of Rome, and became a dependent ally of her former enemy. Once more the West had overcome the East and the descendants of Japheth dispossessed the Semites, determining the future of Europe.

ROME AND THE EAST

Interference in the affairs of the East was due to the efforts of Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, to enlist Philip V of Macedonia in the situation in Italy. Rome used the Ætolians against Philip, and intermittent attacks continued throughout the years of the Second Punic War. Antiochus the Great of Syria was also involved in the schemes of Philip. It appears that these two kings planned to take the territory of the youthful Epiphanes of Egypt, but for the protection of his realm he applied to Rome for aid. The ambitious Macedonian persisted in annoying Greece and Egypt, however, until the Roman Senate declared war. Flaminius won over the Grecian states to his banner and defeated Philip at Cynocephalæ in 197. He was allowed to govern his territory under heavy penalties. Greece was made a pro-

tectorate of Rome, and this condition obtained for fifty years. Meanwhile Antiochus overran Phoenicia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine (Panium, 198), and appeared ready to reclaim other parts of the Alexandrian empire. Hannibal now appeared at Antioch and urged a coalition against Rome for immediate attack on Italy. Antiochus was content, however, to accept the invitation of the Ætolians to invade Thrace and Greece, both with a view to extending his territory in that direction and as a first step toward a contest with Rome. Antiochus was duly warned by the Romans but invaded the land. He was repulsed at Thermopylæ and then at Magnesia by Scipio Asiaticus, brother of the Africanus. The Ætolians were crushed the following year (189) by Cato. Perseus, successor of Philip V, yielded at Pydna in 168, the same year that the Roman ambassador invited Antiochus Epiphanes out of Egypt.

The Alexandrian Empire crumbled in the shadow of the greater conflict, the struggle for the mastery of the West. Had Alexander turned westward instead of toward the east, or had Rome's power come seventy years earlier, the story of the two empires would have required an entirely different setting. Another of the *if's* of history!

THE GREEK PERIOD

B. C. 333—167

MACEDONIAN EMPIRE		ROME	GREECE
B.C. 336	Alexander the Great (336-323) Conquest of Asia (334-328) Granicus. Issus. Enters Jerusalem Samaritan temple Division of the Empire	Rome engaged in the mastery of all Italy. Latins (338)	Alexander made generalis- simo of the Greeks (337) Ætolian League (338 on)
332			
323			
320	Ptolemy Soter (323-285) Judea under control of Egypt	Samnites (290)	Zeno and Epicurus
285	Jews in Egypt Philadelphus (285-247) Septuagint	Conquest of Italy complete (266) Punic Wars begun (264)	Achaean League (280 on) Corinth Pyrrhus Decline of city-states (250)
264 247	Euergetes (247-222) Greatest of the Ptolemies Invasion of Syria Joseph Philopator (222-205) Battle of Raphia Entered temple at Jerusalem Epiphanes (205-181) Lost to Syria	Provincial system begun Hannibal invades Italy (218) Battle of Cannæ Ascendency in Mediterran- ean (202)	
222 217 205 198		Judea under control of Syria Kindness toward Jews Philopator (187-175) Robs temple Antiochus Epiphanes (175- 164) Jason and Menelaus Expeditions into Egypt	Protectorate of Rome (196)
190			
175			

CHAPTER IV
THE MACCABEAN PERIOD

THE MACCABEAN PERIOD

B.C. 167-63

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III. LITERATURE

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CHAPTER IV

THE MACCABEAN PERIOD

B.C. 167-63

I. THE MACCABEES, 167-135

MATTATHIAS, THE HASMONEAN

The determination of Antiochus Epiphanes to wipe out Judaism and to enforce the Greek religion upon the Jews had struck Jerusalem with terror. The destruction of their books of the law and the profanation of the altar were followed by acts of personal violence as in the case of Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons. Nor was the capital city to be the only sufferer and the sole witness to such dire distress. The king's enforcement officers passed into the towns and villages bringing consternation, suffering, and death as the penalty of failure to conform to the royal demands.

At Modein (or Modin), a village a few miles northwest of Jerusalem, lived a pious priest, Mattathias, and his five sons. Depressed in spirit over the sad state of affairs, he retired to his home, and to his sons gave expression to his feelings, that it were better to yield one's life for the laws of the country and for their sacred truths than to continue under existing conditions. In time, Apelles, the king's messenger, came to Modein, and because of the priest's outstanding character, sought him out as an example before the people, promising him the friendship and reward of the king. The answer of the man of God resounds with the earnestness of a Judah and the loyalty of a Ruth: "Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey

him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments; yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers" (1 Macc. 2: 19f).

As Mattathias thus protested vigorously against the royal decree, there came one of the Jews out of the crowd to offer the sacrifice upon the improvised altar. The old priest was filled with rage, and with passionate outburst slew the worshiper, turned upon the royal commissioner and brought him to his death, pulled down the altar and cried to his fellow townsmen, "Whoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me." Hundreds answered the rallying cry. They were weary of the persecution, the atrocious crimes, and the plight of their beloved Jerusalem whose "sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts turned into mourning, her sabbath into reproach, her honour into contempt" (1 Macc. 1: 39). Withdrawing to the hills, the little group of loyalists under the leadership of Mattathias and his sons prepared to defend themselves against the attacks of the king's forces. It happened that the first encounter was on the Sabbath. Refusing to change their attitude toward the decree and declining to resist because of their law governing the Sabbath day, the ranks of the faithful were depleted by the number of a thousand, including men, women, and children. This loss of life so terrified the leaders that a policy of defense on the Sabbath was adopted, and Josephus says this rule continued among the Jews in his day.

Two forward steps now came to be associated with this band of Jews who sought shelter in the wilderness and in the caves from the king's drastic method of religious conformity. One of these was a new name, the *Chasidim* (or Hasidim or Assideans), which means

the Pious. As always, persecution drew the line between the true and the false. Men rallied to the standard of their faith. The fact that as many as a thousand were slain within a few days of the beginning of the open protest shows how quickly the hitherto silent sufferers joined the ranks of determined leaders in a struggle for their sacred rights. The writer of *1 Maccabees* records in this connection, "Then came there unto them a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law" (2: 42). It appears that there was a non-political party of loyalists, perhaps dating from the time of Simon the Just, who steadily opposed the Hellenizing tendencies in Judea. This group must have grown in numbers and in intensity of feeling as time passed. The methods of Antiochus would bring it into the open. Religious conviction can stand just so much pressure; beyond that is the breaking point, and that point had been reached. The Saints take up arms and go heroically to victory or to death impelled by the sense of truth and justice and by faith in One who, they feel, must surely approve their course of action.

The other fact of interest here is the program of rallying the Jews to a revival of their religious obligations. There was not merely a call to arms, to put to rout the tyrant's commissioners, but an effort to restore the true worship. From their retreats in the hills they emerged to break down the heathen altars, to reestablish the law of circumcision, to stimulate the private as well as the public keeping of the covenant,—“so they recovered the law out of the hands of the Gentiles” (1 Macc. 2: 48). Many students of the Bible find a reflection of these troublous times in Psalms 74 and 79 and in Daniel (cf. 11: 25-38), but, irrespective of the problem of authorship and date, we may be sure that these devotees of the national religion found comfort in

the story of the faithful Jews in Daniel's record, that they were inspired by the predictions of the final overthrow of the kingdoms of this world, and that they looked forward with renewal of faith and zeal to the kingdom of righteousness, involving the present and the future and embodying a truth which now begins to find fuller expression,—the doctrine of the resurrection. Josephus (*Ant.* 12: 6: 3) has Mattathias saying to his sons in his dying word of encouragement, "Your bodies are mortal, and subject to fate; but they receive a sort of immortality, by the remembrance of what actions they have done. And I would have you so in love with this immortality, that you may pursue after glory, and that, when you have undergone the greatest difficulties, you may not scruple for such things, to lose your lives." (Cf. Judas Maccabeus in 2 Macc. 12: 43ff).

JUDAS MACCABEUS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, 166-161

On his deathbed Mattathias talked with his sons concerning the future of the movement now in full swing. He recounted the deeds of valor of the forefathers from Abraham down to Daniel and his three companions, and then directed that Simon should be the counsellor and Judas the general in the revolution. The other three sons, John, Eleazar, and Jonathan, were also worthy of the family name. It is doubtful if history shows a parallel to this group of brothers. They were always loyal to one another; no selfish ambition mars the record of any one of them; governed by the same noble ideals, each was willing to take up the banner that had fallen from his brother's hand and press the campaign to victory.

The Name Maccabee. The supreme command, in accordance with the wish of the father, was placed in the

hands of Judas Maccabeus. The origin of the title or surname is doubtful, though several suggestions have been offered. For a long while it was held that the name *Maccabee* was formed from the first letters of the Hebrew words in Ex. 15: 11, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?" (M. K. B. Y.) These letters, it is said, were inscribed on the banners of the army. But the name belonged to the individual originally, and not to the group. Others have noticed that the first three initials are the last letters of the names of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. An interesting guess of one writer⁹ is that the word is from *Makkabios*, the *Extinguisher* (of his enemies, after Is. 43: 17), a noteworthy fact but an untrustworthy derivation. The most satisfactory conclusion is that it was a nickname from *Makkah*, the *Hammer*,—still a happy compliment to the prowess of this patriot-leader. (Cf. Charles Martel.)

The Man Judas. Mattathias said of Judas, "He hath been mighty and strong even from his youth up" (1 Macc. 2: 66). The chronicler adds, "In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey" (3: 4); and again, "He was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he received unto him such as were ready to perish" (3: 9). The statements carry an appreciation both of the valiant leader and of the temper of his army. In personal character he was a man of sincere purpose, genuine piety, and strong faith in the God of Israel. He was to Judea what Washington was to America, or Wallace and Bruce to Scotland. In his alertness of movement and the ability to utilize the mistakes of the enemy, he would compare favorably with Alexander the Great. He was able to inspire his men to the most courageous fighting, and at the same time

⁹S. J. Curtiss, *The Name Maccabee*, quoted in Ency.

to hold them in check from selfish indulgence in the spoils of victory. He fought against great generals and the greatest odds, yet with only one defeat.

His Campaigns. The campaigns of Judas number seven, all defensive except one. In the first year of his leadership he rose to fame by defeating the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron. "All nations talked of the battles of Judas" (2: 26). Many of the enemy in the first battle were slain, while the rest fled. The sword of Apollonius was a part of the spoils that fell into the hands of the patriots, and Judas carried this weapon throughout all succeeding battles. Seron came with a great host against only a few thousand. Judas encouraged his men with the Old Testament battle cry, "With the God of heaven, it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or with a small company. . . . We fight for our lives and our laws" (3: 18f). The losses of Seron at Bethhoron were so great that Epiphanes sent his kinsman Lysias into Judea, with half of the entire fighting strength of Syria, with orders to wipe out the Jewish nation and divide it among strangers. The king himself led the other half of his forces into Persia that he might exact tribute for his military program.

Lysias now sent three trusted generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, into the rebellious nation in 165. Confident of victory, they made arrangements with slave-traders for the purchase of the prisoners. While the army of 47,000 waited at Emmaus, Judas assembled his 3,000 men at Mizpeh where they observed a day of fasting and prayer. The tithes were brought in, soldiers donned sackcloth, the law was read, and a solemn cry was lifted to heaven for help against the adversary. At this time, also, Judas organized his followers into a regular army and, according to the teaching of the law and in the spirit of Gideon, allowed those with urgent

duties at home and all who were lacking in courage to turn back. Gorgias was sent with 6,000 men to surprise Judas by night. Sensing what was about to happen, the Maccabee left his camp fires burning, marched all night to Emmaus, and at daybreak surprised and scattered the Syrian host and burned their tents. The Jewish army was restrained from enjoying the spoils until Gorgias should return, but when he saw the ruins of the camp he was terrified and fled for safety. This battle, so characteristic of the method of Judas, greatly contributed toward the larger victory that this heroic leader was to win. "Israel had a great deliverance that day" (4: 25).

Rededication of the Temple. The next year Lysias himself led even a greater army into Judea,—65,000 chosen troops. Judas met him at Bethzur with 10,000 men and gained another victory. Lysias was impressed with the desperate fighting spirit of the Jews and returned immediately to Antioch to enlist the services of mercenary soldiers in suppressing the revolution in Judea. Meanwhile Judas used the quiet interim to cleanse and rededicate the Temple. It proved a great occasion as the people turned their hearts with zest to the revival of the sacrificial service. On the 25th day of the month corresponding to our December, 165, and just three years to the day since the profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Temple was rededicated with a festival which lasted for eight days and which marked, afterwards, a red letter day on the Jewish calendar (John 10: 22). The Feast of Dedication meant more to the Jews than the observance of the original date of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon. Bethzur was now fortified as a permanent citadel for the protection of the capital.

Enemies New and Old. Neighboring enemies of the Jews became alarmed at the progress of events in Judea

and determined to take a hand. Judas now made his one offensive drive, defeating the Idumeans on the south, the Ammonites and Gileadites on the east, the Galileans on the north, and the ancient enemy, the Philistines, on the west. Meanwhile, Epiphanes made an attack on Elymas, a reputed wealthy Alexandrian city of Persia, that he might replenish his depleted treasury. Disappointed with the results there and chagrined over the news of the defeat of his armies in the west, he came to his deathbed with expressions of remorse concerning the treatment he had meted out to God's chosen people.

Religious Liberty Won. Upon the death of the king, Lysias assumed guardianship of the young Antiochus and had him crowned with the name Eupator. In the meantime Judas made a sharp attack on the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem (Acra) and forced the guards to seek aid from Antioch. Lysias responded with another large army (120,000) which included 32 war elephants, and besieged Bethzur while Judas camped at Beth-zacharias. The battle that ensued marked the death of the first of the sons of Mattathias. Eleazar selected one of the largest and most richly adorned of the beasts as the probable bearer of the king, and slipping under the elephant, drove his dagger to the heart, thus sacrificing his own life in a futile attempt to save the day. Although the Syrians lost heavily, they were the victors in this fight, the first defeat administered to the army of Judas. They took Bethzur and were on the point of capturing the Temple mount, which had been hastily fortified, when Lysias suddenly made peace with the Jews and hurried home to deal with a rival contender for the regency. The terms of peace involved religious liberty, the "living after their laws," for which the Jews had fought. As Antiochus and his general left Judea they carried with them the high priest Menelaus, whom Lysias had come to recognize as the "origin

of all the mischief the Jews had done" (Jos. *Ant.* 12: 9: 7). Menelaus was sent to a small town in Syria where he was smothered in a tower of ashes. Alcimus was appointed high priest by Antiochus and supported by the Hellenizing party, though opposed by Judas. It appears that the Assideans also supported his ambitions because they were satisfied to have a direct descendant of Aaron restored to the priestly office. It is possible that they had some misgivings concerning the designs of Judas upon the political government of Judea. The distrust that Judas held toward Alcimus, however, was soon shown to be well-founded by the conduct of this tool in the hands of the Syrians.

Last Days of Judas. The last great victory of the Maccabee was over Nicanor who had dealt with his foe in a previous conflict. Demetrius I (Soter), the rightful heir to the Syrian throne who had been kept at Rome as a hostage, had now taken Antioch, Antiochus and Lysias being put to death, and had sent Bacchides to entrap Judas, but the wary patriot kept out of his reach. When Nicanor arrived, however, Judas came into the open and defeated him in battle. In return for a blasphemous threat that the invader had made against the sanctuary and the altar, his head and hand were cut off and hung up along one of the main roads leading into Jerusalem. The 13th day of the month Adar was called "Nicanor's Day" in remembrance of the great victory at Adasa, near Bethhoron. But Judas foresaw the end. He knew that he would not long be able to continue the unequal matching of military power. He, accordingly, made an appeal to Rome which elicited the friendship of the great western power on the side of the Jews. But before the warning reached Demetrius, Bacchides was on the march again. Only 3,000 were left with Judas, and these withdrew from camp until there were 800. These faithful men counseled re-

treat, but with fatalistic confidence that his hour had come Judas rallied his forces against the right wing of the enemy and all but succeeded in routing it, when the left wing folded back upon him and carried him to his death. Eleasa was the "Jewish Thermopylæ." "Judas was killed and the remnant fled" (1 Macc. 9: 18). The body was taken by the brothers and laid in the family tomb at Modein, while the entire nation mourned the loss of their matchless leader.

What He Accomplished. Judas gained religious liberty as he set out to do. The condition of the Jews at the time was such, however, that it appeared necessary to press on for political independence. In this he failed. The people were divided on this matter. The high priest's influence was still with the Hellenists, although his Aaronic connection had deceived the loyalists. Resources were now exhausted. The alliance with Rome, together with the one defeat, caused a loss of prestige. All of these causes figured in the eclipse of the political outlook for the Jewish nation at this time. It was left for another Maccabee to regain that power, and for still another to usher in an era of national supremacy and glory.

JONATHAN AND POLITICAL POWER, 165-143

The Hellenizing, renegade Jews cooperated with Demetrius and Alcimus to harass the friends of Judas. The former came into positions of control, while the patriots, beset by a famine as well as by persecution, turned again to the sons of Mattathias for leadership. Jonathan, the youngest of the five, was chosen. As Judas had been the intrepid soldier, Jonathan was to be the shrewd statesman, justifying the title by which he is known, "The Cunning."

Death of John. Jonathan collected the remnant of the army and retired to the Wilderness of Tekoa, south

of Jerusalem, as a hiding place. He resorted to guerilla warfare until the Jewish forces could be rallied for open conflict. His brother John was commissioned to pilot the families and cattle of the patriots across the Jordan into the friendly realm of the Nabatheans. On this mission he was slain by a band of hostile Arabs, and thus the third Hasmonean came to a heroic death in the service of the nation. Jonathan speedily avenged his brother's death, but on the return was met at the fords of the river by Bacchides. The only way of escape was by swimming the Jordan and eluding pursuit.

The Passing of Alcimus and Bacchides. The Syrian general now developed garrisons throughout the country and returned to Antioch. To insure quiet he took hostages from many of the prominent families and shut them up in the Syrian tower at Jerusalem. Alcimus took the liberty at this time of pulling down the wall of the Temple between the Court of the Gentiles and that set apart for the Jews exclusively. The historian tells us that he was smitten with a plague while engaged in this act and died soon afterwards in great agony. The little kingdom had rest for two years. The Greek party was dissatisfied with this state of affairs and urged Bacchides to return, thinking to lay hands upon Jonathan. But the shrewdness of the Maccabee enabled him to learn of the plot. He and Simon made an attack on Bacchides, who, disappointed in the purpose of his invasion, accepted Jonathan's offer of peace and retired from Judea (156), never to come that way again. "Thus the sword ceased from Israel; and Jonathan dwelt at Michmash, and began to govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel" (9: 73). Judea had recovered the glory that was hers at the peak of the leadership of Judas Maccabeus, and the outlook promised better things still.

The Diplomacy of Jonathan. Troubles at Antioch now played into Jonathan's hands. Alexander Balas, who claimed to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, became a contender with Demetrius Soter for the Syrian throne. He was able to induce the great powers to recognize his rights in the case, both Egypt and Rome endorsing his claim, and Jonathan was disposed to side with him. The friendship of the Jewish kingdom was sought by both sides, each offering concessions and privileges to Jonathan to win his favor, while he calmly accepted all offers that strengthened his own case. Demetrius sent letters to Jonathan "with loving words" in which he recognized his authority over Judea by granting him the right to levy troops and liberating the patriots who were held as hostages in the tower. Jonathan began at once to establish himself in Jerusalem by strengthening its fortifications. Balas did not expect to be outdone in his bid for the services of the Jew, so he sent messengers to "his brother Jonathan" appointing him to the high priesthood in the room of Alcimus, calling him the "King's friend," and sending the royal robe and crown of gold as the insignia of the new office. At the next Feast of the Tabernacles Jonathan appeared before the people in the new role and as the supporter of Balas. Demetrius, in turn, offered the most attractive inducements, including release of captives, abolition of taxes, surrender of the citadel, enlarged territory (Samaria and Galilee), and liberal allowances for Temple support. But Jonathan and his people remembered the evil that had been done to their land by the reigning king and they steadfastly determined to ally themselves with Balas. That they were wise is shown by the fact that soon after this the forces of Demetrius were completely routed by Balas.

Jonathan As High Priest. It may be well to turn aside just here from the progress of the story to note

the innovation of conferring the priesthood upon one outside the line of succession. Back in the days of Samuel, and often thereafter, the civil and religious headship centered in one individual. This was certainly the general custom in the uncertain period following the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the high priest was the director of all affairs in Palestine, though subject to some foreign power. The difference in the present situation is that the governor became high priest, whereas heretofore the high priest was a kind of *ex officio* governor. There the priestly descent was the controlling factor in selection, while here it is a mere appointment by an outsider who knew the high esteem in which the office was held by the Jews. Under Antiochus Epiphanes the office was bought outright and the high priests were decidedly Hellenistic. Much the same condition obtained under Herod and the Romans. The faithful Jews were forced to acquiesce in these cases, though we may be sure there was much inward protest. But there seems to have been no objection to the appointment of Jonathan and to the hereditary assumption of the office by succeeding Hasmoneans. The Maccabees were highly honored as the deliverers of the nation; the long years of strife had helped the Jews to think more of the restoration of their liberties and their state than of the accuracy of religious formulas; and the dark records of the three high priests, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus, together with the seven-year vacancy, had thrown the prosperous and successful leadership of Jonathan into such pleasing light as to cause the loyal Assideans to welcome one of their own to the altar service.

Meeting New Claimants. Balas now joined allegiance with the Egyptian monarch, Ptolemy Philometer, taking the princess Cleopatra as his wife. At the wedding feast at Ptolemais, Jonathan was clothed in royal pur-

ple and allowed to sit with the king and his bride, to the utter consternation of certain of the apostates who had come to accuse Jonathan before the Syrian ruler. "So the king honored him, and wrote him among his chief friends, and made him a captain and governor of a province" (10: 65). Sometimes the shrewdness of the Maccabee appeared almost foolhardy. For example, three years later when Demetrius II, son of Soter, claimed the throne, supported by Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria, Jonathan took the field against the latter and gained three notable victories. In appreciation Balas sent him a "buckle of gold, as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood," and presented him with the city of Ekron. Then Balas proved unworthy of his place. For reasons hard to understand, perhaps merely to secure his kingdom, his father-in-law turned against him and offered Cleopatra to Demetrius. Ptolemy was slain in battle; Balas met his fate in 145 at the hands of an assassin; and Demetrius II as king called for Jonathan to make explanation. Meanwhile Jonathan "boldly laid siege to the Acra and as boldly appeared to answer for himself at Ptolemais." The outcome, strange as it may seem, was another triumph of diplomacy. He brought many gifts to the king and returned home confirmed in the high priesthood and the honors he had before, with the added favor of release from tribute at his own request. The opportunity soon came for Jonathan to repay his benefactor. Demetrius was unpopular at Antioch. In the midst of an insurrection there 3,000 soldiers were sent from Jerusalem, and they succeeded in saving the king's life and in quelling the revolt. For this service the Syrian king promised to withdraw the garrison in Judea, but in the new troubles about the court this was not done, and Jonathan turned his support to a new claimant.

Tryphon, a former officer of Alexander Balas, took advantage of the ill favor toward Demetrius and championed the cause of Antiochus, son of Balas. Jonathan, again confirmed in the high privileges accorded him by the other rulers, was able to turn the people of his dominions toward the support of the new king and to defeat the army of Demetrius. Simon was placed in charge of an army of aggression and added new territory to the kingdom. Jonathan also renewed the alliance with Rome that had been made by Judas. But Tryphon had personal ambitions and soon plotted to gain possession of Jonathan's person because of his avowed friendship for Antiochus. This he accomplished through a ruse, even the crafty Maccabee yielding to superior strategy. Tryphon suddenly appeared in the land with a large army, and Jonathan, equally well equipped, faced the invader at Bethshan. Unwilling to join the attack and professing friendship with the Jew, the aspirant to the Syrian throne chided him for bringing such a fighting force to meet him, and invited him to come to Ptolemais with a few chosen men to receive that city as a gift. Jonathan was clearly deceived, and without suspecting the plot went down to Ptolemais where his men were killed and he was made a prisoner.

With his sudden removal from the headship of the state, the country was depressed, and particularly so because the enemies round about appeared ready to pounce upon the nation and tear it to pieces. Simon assembled the people at Jerusalem and greatly revived their spirits by recounting the deeds of his illustrious family and offering to throw himself in the breach. With enthusiasm he was acclaimed leader in the place of Jonathan.

SIMON AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, 143-135

The second son of Mattathias, who, as the "man of counsel" and also the able general, had already served his younger brothers and his country through many of the hazardous experiences that have been described, must now try his hand with the Syrian forces and with the responsibilities of government. Tryphon moved from Ptolemais against Judea, carrying Jonathan in ward, but was intercepted by Simon at Adida. Word came that with the payment of 100 talents of silver and the sending of two of his sons as hostages the prisoner would be released. Though Simon distrusted Tryphon, he fulfilled the demands, only to fail in the endeavor to procure his brother's freedom. A short while later Jonathan was slain. The bones were recovered and carried to Modein, where Simon erected a magnificent monument to the memory of his parents and brothers.

Tryphon failed to get possession of Jerusalem on account of the persistent pursuit upon the part of Simon. The historian records that an attempt to provision the famished garrison of Acra by night came to naught because of a great snow. After the withdrawal of Tryphon from the land, the tower yielded, and the date, the 23rd of May, 142, marked the downfall of the last Syrian garrison. The young Antiochus had been put to death; the murderer-usurper Tryphon lost favor with the army as well as with the people; and Demetrius II, the rightful king, was trying to save his kingdom by repelling an invasion of Parthians in the northeast. Simon used the opportunity to demand the freedom of the Jews from the annual tribute, and this was readily granted by Demetrius who sought the aid of Simon. "Then the people began to write in their instruments and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon

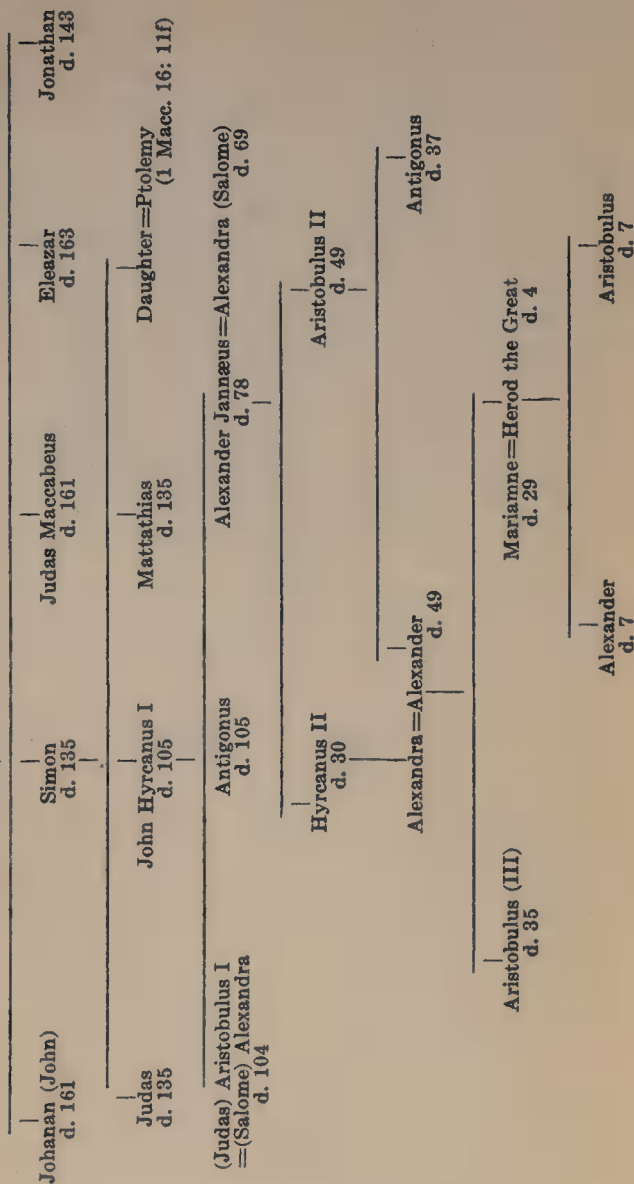
HASMONEANS (MACCABEES)

Hasmon

Simon

Johanan

Mattathias, d. 166 B.C.



the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews' " (13: 42).

The year 142 marked the beginning of the new order. After 25 years of war, political independence had been gained and the land was at peace. The treaty with Rome was again renewed; a system of coinage, the symbol of a new regime, was instituted. Simon was held in the highest esteem. The following year he was formally appointed "high priest and governor, until there should arise a faithful prophet" who should instruct the people what to do (14: 41). This decree was engraved on a memorial tablet and placed in the Temple. In many respects Simon had proved himself the greatest of this interesting group of brothers. Together they had brought back much of the ancient glory to the kingdom of Israel.

II. THE HASMONEAN DYNASTY, 135-63

JOHN HYRCANUS: EASE, EXPANSION, AND WEALTH, 135-106

In the closing years of Simon there was some conflict with Antiochus VII (Sidetes), brother of Demetrius II, because of the loss of the territory in Judea and along the coast, but Judas and John, sons of Simon, succeeded in repelling the Syrian army and retaining the possessions. In this connection, Ptolemy, their brother-in-law and son of Abubus, was elevated to a generalship in the army and soon came to covet the supreme control of the kingdom. He arranged a banquet in the stronghold at Jericho, ostensibly in honor of Simon and his sons, but with a scheme for the murder of those who stood between him and power. Simon, with his sons Mattathias and Judas, fell a victim to the plot. The plan to get rid of the third son, John Hyrcanus, in control of the forces in the west, fell through, and

he now speedily moved against Ptolemy and entered the capital to establish himself as the successor of his father.

Antiochus Sidetes used the opportunity, as he had probably supported the effort of Ptolemy, to advance against Jerusalem. Hyrcanus was shut up in the city and the siege was begun. The people suffered in this congested area because of the scarcity of food and water. Josephus tells of a remarkably "large shower of rain" which came to relieve their distress (*Ant.* 13: 8: 2). While Hyrcanus was making the best of his plight, with an occasional sally against the intruder, the Feast of Tabernacles came on. A truce of seven days was arranged and, strange to relate, Antiochus sent in animals for the sacrifice. So great was the contrast between the action of this king and that of Epiphanes that the Jews named him "The Pious." Perhaps the Romans were back of his act; at any rate, the Syrian withdrew after requiring a surrender of arms, the payment of tribute for the coast cities, and certain hostages with 500 talents of silver.

It was a poor beginning of a prosperous reign. The troubled situation at Antioch made it possible for the Judean ruler to extend his borders in every direction and to be practically independent. The East Jordan country, Samaria, and Edom on the south (Idumeans) were brought under control. The Temple on Mt. Gerizim was destroyed and later the city of Samaria was besieged and compelled to surrender. The idea was to destroy these neighboring powers which had been a disturbing factor in the life of Judea through the years. The little province thus gained a place of importance among the nations. Tribute was no longer paid to Syria. The continued friendship of the Romans was guaranteed, and, it is said, Hyrcanus was the first Jewish prince to have his name engraved on

their coins. The country was in a period of ease and wealth. Hyrcanus had proved himself a worthy Hasmonean. Josephus tells us that God honored him with "three of the greatest privileges—the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy," many feeling that the prophetic gift had been restored in him because he foretold that his two eldest sons would not long hold the reigns of government.

APPEARANCE OF PARTIES

The historical development and the doctrinal tenets of the religio-political parties in Judea are treated in the last chapter in this study. It is necessary at this point, however, to bring them into the story because of the part they play in the reign of Hyrcanus. The Pharisees were the resultant, in the main, of the Assidean loyalists, while the Sadducees represented the liberalistic trend or Hellenistic infatuation. The Maccabees, therefore, belong to the Pharisaic body, or people's party, though the state had not felt the impact of these divisions of society until this time. Josephus makes the first reference to them in the reign of Jonathan in 145. This is their entrance into political affairs as definitely grouped parties. They came to play an increasingly important part in Judean life up to and including the time of Christ.

The ease and luxury of the reign of Hyrcanus caused the Pharisees to take a hand. To their minds his ministrations in the office of high priest were a sacrilege, and they let him know their feelings in the matter. It was an early problem of the relation between Church and State, the question of a State-controlled religion or a religiously-directed State. The result was that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisees. Open civil war will come later. One of the immediate effects of the transfer of

his support was the change in the names of his three sons who later rose to power,—Judas, Mattathias, and Jonathan becoming Aristobulus, Antigonus, and Alexander Jannæus.

THE SONS OF HYRCANUS, 106-78

Hyrcanus left the civil power to his wife, but the religious headship he gave to his eldest son, Aristobulus. The latter, however, was not content with that arrangement, and at once usurped the civil control, shutting up all his relatives in prison except Antigonus, his favorite brother, and openly assuming the name *King of the Jews*, "a name previously unknown to Hebrew history, though destined to carry with it a sacred and enduring significance." But his wife, Salome (Alexandra), poisoned his mind against Antigonus, and he was murdered, his mother having previously been allowed to starve to death. In the matter of accomplishments as a ruler, he is credited with adding Iturea to the kingdom of Judea. Remorse over his brother's murder brought on his death at the end of one year.

Alexander Jannæus, freed from prison by Alexandra, became king and also the husband of his benefactress. He was a successful warrior, extending the bounds of the kingdom along the coast of Philistia, then in Perea, Arabia, and the northeast, until his dominion was as large as David's had been. But all this was at the expense of his popularity. Hated by his people, especially by the Pharisees, he turned his kingship into cruelty and bloodshed. He was given the name "Son of a Thracian" among the Jews, was pelted with citrons while in the act of worship, and was reviled as the son of a captive. In retaliation for this hatred he killed, in all, probably 50,000 of his people, some 800 being crucified at a banquet after their wives and children

had been slain before their eyes. This tragic occasion introduces us to the cross in Jewish history. At his death, realizing that the Pharisaic power could not longer be resisted, he advised his wife to seek their counsel and thus carry on the kingdom.

ALEXANDRA AND HER SONS, 78-63

Under the influence of the Pharisees Alexandra had a peaceful reign of nine years. According to a late tradition this was the golden age of Judaism. It is said that synagogue schools flourished and that the half-shekel Temple tax was restored during this period. We may be sure that all Pharisaic doctrines and practices were emphasized. The party endeavored also to induce the queen to bring to justice those who had encouraged Jannæus in his slaughter of the 800 Pharisees. The army was greatly enlarged and foreign troops were hired for extensive military operations. Josephus says, "Her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her" (*Wars*, 1: 5: 2).

The two sons of Jannæus and Alexandra play a most interesting and vital part in Jewish affairs just here, forming a connecting link between the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty and the entrance of Rome upon the stage of action in B.C. 63. Hyrcanus (II), the elder, was a quiet man and indisposed toward statecraft. He was invested with the office of high priest, and became a tool in the hands of the Pharisees. Aristobulus (II) was active and self-assertive. Having much of his father's spirit, he disliked the party of his mother and her policy of yielding to their demands. Though she had sought to keep him out of public affairs, he was actively engaged with the Sadducees in the effort to discourage the vengeance of their enemies at the time

of her death. The responsibility of government fell to Hyrcanus, but Aristobulus was prepared to contest the right to rule and declared war. The brothers, however, soon arrived at a peaceful settlement. Upon the basis of their natural dispositions it was agreed that Hyrcanus should be high priest, with the wealth and prestige of a secure position, and that Aristobulus should be king. This agreement being made, the two men gave their oaths, shook hands, embraced one another in the sight of the multitude, and departed to the palace and to the Temple, respectively.

ANTIPATER THE IDUMEAN

But Hyrcanus had a friend who was not satisfied, and who was ambitious for Hyrcanus, and incidentally, for himself,—Antipater, the Idumean. We have seen how the Idumeans had been conquered by John Hyrcanus and had been forced to become Jews. This man was an officer in the service of Alexandra. He was apparently a man of wealth, ability, and influence. His personal ambitions for a position of control in Judean affairs probably spurred him on to seek to arouse Hyrcanus. There would be little chance for the accomplishment of his desires under such a man as Aristobulus, but with a nominal ruler like the “legitimate but lethargic heir” he could exploit himself without revealing his true motive. As a man who possessed indomitable energy, with patience, he was one to be reckoned with in a time when the affairs of Judea were in a transition stage because of the presence of a Roman army in the East.

Antipater talked with Hyrcanus, warning him that his life was not safe and charging Aristobulus with trickery and crime. He succeeded in stirring up many of the influential Jews concerning the injustice done the rightful heir to the kingdom. The Idumean at length

persuaded the high priest to flee to Aretas, king of Arabia, who had been induced to champion the cause of Hyrcanus through the promised return of twelve cities that had been captured by Jannæus. The Arabians now invaded the land, defeated Aristobulus in the field, and began a siege of Jerusalem where the king had taken refuge. The mass of the Jews sided with Hyrcanus, only the priests standing by Aristobulus.

SETTLEMENT BY POMPEY

At this juncture Pompey's general, Scaurus, came into Judea from Syria. Representatives from both sides presented an appeal for favor and aid. Josephus is of the opinion that Scaurus' decision in favor of the regent was influenced by the larger resources at his disposal and the fact that he would not have to be dispossessed of the stronghold (*Ant.* 14: 2: 3). The Roman general accordingly stopped the siege, sent Aretas home, and retired to Damascus. Aristobulus, thus released, attacked the retreating Arabians at Papyron and slew some six thousand. In the spring of 63 Pompey himself heard the two brothers, and also the appeal of a neutral party for the abolition of the monarchy and the restoration of their ancient method of government. Pompey might have decided in favor of Aristobulus, but the latter was restless and uncertain and took possession of the stronghold about Jerusalem. The Roman pursued him until he fortified himself on the Temple mount. Not to be outdone, a three-months' siege was begun in which 12,000 Jews were destroyed. Finally Pompey stood at the door of the sanctuary with a curious desire to enter the Holy of holies. Consternation filled the hearts of the Jews. But the historian records that when he had seen all contained in the Temple, out of respect for their religion he calmly retired and gave orders to cleanse the sanctuary and to

bring in the offerings according to their usual custom. Hyrcanus was now restored to the high priesthood and made Ethnarch of a realm reduced to the bounds of the old kingdom of Judah. Aristobulus and his family were carried away to grace the triumphal entry of the conqueror. The freedom of the Jewish state was again lost, and lost to Syria, but to Syria as a Roman province.

III. LITERATURE

1 AND 2 MACCABEES

The story of the Maccabees has been preserved for us in 1 and 2 *Maccabees* and in *Josephus*. Students of the sources of interbiblical history are agreed that the account given by Josephus is far inferior to that of 1 *Maccabees*. Attention has already been called to the high historical value of the latter. Ewald says, "It breathes the freshest inspiration of the peculiar elevation and glory of the time." It is a "record of priceless worth," according to Fairweather. Rawlinson is quoted as saying, ". . . an authority for the history of the period second to none."¹⁰ The work was originally in Hebrew by a Jew of Palestine, himself familiar with its people and its geography, and devoted to the Asidean cause. The unknown author probably wrote during the reign of John Hyrcanus at the zenith of the glory period. There are two passages which have significance in the search for Messianic references. When Judas cleansed the Temple and thus instituted the Feast of Dedication, the question arose as to the disposal of the polluted stones of the old altar. It was decided to store them up "until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them" (4: 46). Again, after Simon had brought political liberty and the country was at peace, the Jews made him their

¹⁰Grant, *Between the Testaments*, p. 132.

"governor and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet" (14: 41). The passages, though perhaps not definitely Messianic, are expressive of Jewish optimism and hope for the fulfillment of the promise of a divine messenger of the prophetic order.

We are indebted to 2 *Maccabees* for the account of the Hellenistic program of Antiochus Epiphanes and the martyr spirit among the Assideans. But the book is not on a par with the first book. Fable is often mingled with history. It is an Oriental book, painting pictures and emphasizing a moral. The author informs us that he is abridging a story of the times told by one Jason of Cyrene in five volumes (2: 23). The ground covered is practically the same as that of 1 *Maccabees*.

JUDITH

Judith probably belongs to the period under consideration, though the setting of the story is far back in the Babylonian period or earlier. The book is a companion work of *Tobit*, except that it is a tribute to a woman's devotion similar to that of Esther's and, particularly, it is manifestly a manual of Pharisaic virtues. Its historical references are badly mixed and therefore worthless. Grant says it "bristles with impossibilities, political, geographical, and military."¹¹

According to the story, Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar), "king of the Assyrians," is enraged because the "west country" peoples refused to come to his aid against the king of Media. He, therefore, sent his general, Holofernes, with a large army to wreak vengeance upon the land. In time he came "over against Esdraelon near to Judah." The Judeans, "newly returned from the captivity," feared for their Temple and hastily prepared to resist the intruder. The leader of

¹¹Op. Cit., p. 122.

the Ammonite forces advised Holofernes against attacking the Jews, unless they had certainly done wrong, saying, "If there be no iniquity in their nation, let my Lord now pass by, lest their Lord defend them, and their God be for them, and we become a reproach before all the world" (5: 21). But the Assyrian besieged "Bethulia," the stronghold of the Jews, and, having cut off the water supply, was on the point of taking the city. At this point, Judith, a wealthy and devout widow, determined to risk her life, even her honor, to save her people. She entered the enemy's camp by night and was at once taken before Holofernes. She beguiled him with her charm until he believed her story to the effect that the advice of the Ammonite general was true, that the Jews were in such plight that they were about to break the law of God by eating unclean meats, and that she was sent to inform the invader of God's plan to destroy them for this sin. She offered to lead him to Jerusalem for this dire purpose. After three days a feast was arranged at which the general drank to excess, lured on by the wiles of the temptress. Then, heavy with sleep, he was slain in his tent, and his head was taken by the fair murderess to the Jewish camp. The result was that the enemy was utterly routed and Judith was proclaimed the heroine of the victory.

Ruskin, in his *Mornings in Florence*, commenting on the painting *Judith and Holofernes*, says, "She is the mightiest, purest, brightest type of high passion in severe womanhood offered to our human memory." The moral of the story is, of course, "Safety in Obedience to the Law." One cannot help wondering how the author could justify the association of the bold, wreckless conduct of this "Jewish Delilah" with the great moral principle that he wants to emphasize. Though Pharisaic in its tone, the story contains no references

to angels, miracles, rewards after death, or hope of the Messiah.

Besides these books from the Apocrypha which seem to reflect the Maccabean times, there are three others belonging to the classification *Apocalyptic Literature* which call for a word of evaluation. These are *The Book of Enoch*, *The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, and *The Sibylline Oracles*.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

This work ascribed to the second and first centuries B.C. is probably a collection of books by different writers, all associated with the name of the early Old Testament saint. It claims to be a series of visions of highly Messianic import. The author has been called the "Hebrew Dante" because of his description of wanderings through the remote places of the universe. In the second section of the book there is a graphic picture of the last times under the name *Similitudes*, the most interesting part of the work (chapters 37-70, dated 97-64 B.C.).

Scholars think that *The Book of Enoch* was well-known to New Testament writers and that it influenced their thought and diction. Jude 14 is said to be a quotation from it. Jewish authors and Church Fathers made free use of it, referring to it as if to scripture in writings which appeared during the first century of our era. Next to the book of Daniel it occupied the chief place in Jewish apocalyptic in the minds of both Jewish and Christian writers of this time. The Jews came to reject it in the second century, however, and the Christian Church at the end of the third century.

The appeal of the book then and its value to us now center in the teachings concerning current Messianic ideas. Four titles are applied for the first time in literature to the personal Messiah,—“The Anointed One

(Christ)," "The Righteous One," "The Elect One," and "The Son of Man." In connection with the last title the conception of judgment and universal authority appears. Some of the doctrines enunciated are the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked, final judgment, a Messianic kingdom in Palestine, Sheol a place of moral retribution—a suggestion of the intermediate state for both the righteous and the wicked, a millennium program of flagrant sin and oppression of the elect before the appearance of the Son of man in judgment, and a picture of Gehenna and of the heavenly mansions. R. H. Charles¹² is authority for saying we have in chapters 83-90 the "earliest reference to the Messiah in Apocalyptic literature." This section is dated 166-161 B.C. He makes the further statement, the correctness of which would not pass unchallenged, that in the *Similitudes* "the Messiah for the first time in Jewish literature is represented as a supernatural being."

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

This work probably covers a period of several centuries, being dated by one source from 180 B.C. to 350 A.D., "a chaotic wilderness," according to Shürer. The section of this interesting literary jungle that bears upon the Maccabean period (Book III, lines 97-818; 166, 165 B.C.) has many details concerning the Messianic kingdom and the last times. It is significant to note that the nations will be converted and will come to worship the God of Israel. Peace will prevail everywhere. This universal kingdom will have Jerusalem as its center. This book seems to represent the Hellenistic Judaism of Egypt.

¹²Art. *Eschatology* in Hastings' D. B.

THE TESTAMENT OF THE XII PATRIARCHS

This writing is next in importance to *The Book of Enoch*. It purports to represent the final words of instruction of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children, after the manner of Jacob's charge in Genesis 49. Scholars agree that there are many Christian interpolations, and that critical analysis will clear up many points. It is dated between 135 and 103 B.C. and is a sort of sequel to *Enoch*, using some of its phraseology. The writers were Assideans, and the work is a defense of the religious and civil government of the period. In three Messianic passages it pictures an eternal kingdom on earth, with the Messiah coming from the tribe of Judah (one reference says Levi). It speaks of a resurrection, evil spirits cast into eternal fire, saints to live in Eden, and God to abide among men. The Gentiles are included in this Messianic reign. A point of special interest is a reference to three heavens, as compared with the seven heavens of other writers. The twelve tribes are spoken of as living in Palestine, no distinctive reference being made to *lost tribes*.

We are perhaps not far wrong if we think of these books as extant in the Maccabean period, lending courage and assurance in the battle for freedom, and hope and inspiration to the pious expectation of a divine Deliverer.

IV. ROMAN HISTORY, B.C. 167-63

In the military records of the century under review, the year 146 marks a red letter date on the Roman calendar. In that year Corinth, the last reminder of "the glory that was Greece," revolted and was destroyed by consul Metellus, and in the same year a similar but unspeakably more horrible fate befell Carthage under

the leadership of consul Scipio Æmilianus. The final mastery of Africa and Spain is related first.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE

The Third Punic War (149-146), "not so much a war as a bloody sacrifice to Roman ambition," was caused, as was the first conflict, by the commercial competition in the western Mediterranean. The occasion was found in the aggressive movement of Masinissa, ruler of Numidia, in encroaching upon the territory of Carthage. This had gone on for several years, the Carthaginians appealing to Rome for justice and Rome deciding in favor of the Numidians. At length Cato was sent to settle the dispute. He was amazed at the growth of Carthage during the 34 years interim and returned to Rome to encourage her to strike at once. It is said that during the succeeding months he closed every address, whatever the theme, with the statement, "For the rest I think that Carthage must be destroyed." In 149 Masinissa attacked Carthage and the latter retaliated without first securing the permission of Rome, in accordance with the terms of the last settlement. It was provocation enough. Scipio landed at Utica and demanded the surrender of arms. This done, he required that the city should be moved ten miles from the coast. In desperation and in defiance of this unreasonable demand the citizens replenished their stock of arms over night, and the defense of their homes and families began. For seven days the Romans fought their way through the city, block by block, and house by house, until only 50,000 were left to surrender. These were sold into slavery. The Senate ordered that the city be burned and its site plowed up and sown with salt. A curse was pronounced upon any one who should attempt to rebuild it. Utica was made the capital of the province of Africa, Roman language and customs

superseding the Semitic. Scipio was accorded a triumph at Rome, and like the conqueror at Zama, surnamed Africanus.

CONQUEST OF THE WEST AND THE EAST

The situation in SPAIN was uncertain because no reliance could be placed on the word of the natives when they offered to surrender. This gave rise to Rome's first standing armies. Tiberius Gracchus, father of the famous Gracchi, practiced such a humane policy with the scattered tribes that there was peace from 179 to 153. In 153, however, occurred a general uprising which lasted for the next 25 years. Galba was sent to adjust the difficulties that resulted from the revolt, but having induced the Lusitanians to lay down their arms, he slaughtered them without mercy. Even the Roman Senate disclaimed his act. The treachery of the Roman stirred to a white heat the hatred of Variathus, the shepherd-warrior, who began a war of extermination of his oppressors. Fighting in the mountain fastnesses he proved a valiant foe, and for ten years defeated one consular army after another. It was not until his assassination through Roman perfidy in 139 that Spain submitted to the conqueror. The story of the Lusitanians is paralleled by that of the Numantians and other nations in the western area. Rome's method of gaining her goal cannot be better illustrated than in Spain and North Africa.

In GREECE, Corinth received the death blow in 146. The Achæan League, as we have seen, had been the dominant political influence for a century, and Corinth was the leader in that confederacy. After Rome had settled the affairs of Philip V of Macedonia and the Ætolian League, the Achæans continued to hold the institutions of Hellas intact. Not even the Roman Senate could find occasion for onset. But Perseus, successor

of Philip, had cultivated the favor of the Greeks who had come to regard the Romans as "oppressors rather than as guardians of liberty." In the defiant attitude of the Macedonian king Rome found her excuse. Macedonia was mastered by Paullus at Pydna in 168 and the king was led in triumph in a three-day procession through the streets of the capital. A Roman province was formed of his dominions. In punishment of their alliance with this enemy, the leaders of the Achæan League to the number of a thousand men—"a large part of the remaining genius of Greece"—were taken to Italy as prisoners. Among the exiles was Polybius, the historian. For seventeen years they were held in virtual slavery. Their wasted appearance upon the return home stirred the states of the League profoundly and they took up arms of resistance. But it was a futile effort at retaliation. In short order consul Mummius took Corinth and burned it to the ground. Her people passed into slavery and her art treasures to the public buildings and private villas of her captor,—“the last act in the drama of Grecian civilization.” Only the name *Achaia* was preserved in the province now formed of the outlying districts of ancient Hellas.

Rome did not, as yet, interfere in the internal affairs of SYRIA. Antiochus Epiphanes could carry out his policies in Palestine, but his ambitions toward Egypt ran counter to Roman protection there. The Maccabean rulers made alliance with Rome, but as we have seen, the plans of the Roman Senate did not call for an aggressive campaign in the East at this time. Antioch was too far removed to be a rival of the great metropolis. Asia Minor submitted in 133 and was constituted the Province of Asia in 129. This was the eastern boundary of the Republic until the rise of Pompey.

THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM

"When Rome had conquered Greece, and Syria, and Asia Minor, the days of her true greatness were ended."¹³ The enlargement of the borders of the Republic, with its attendant extension of authority and power, brought corresponding changes in the national character. The simplicity of life in the early days had given over to cosmopolitan ways. Peasant proprietors of farms were no longer found. They had moved to the city where they soon became tools of mob violence and party politics. The soldiers at first were good citizens called out to meet an emergency; now they have become a class in themselves, noble fighters but crude men. There were many capitalists and landlords, as business and land passed into the hands of the few. The plebeians entered the aristocracy of wealth, and wealth brought luxury and immorality. The wars made slaves numerous, and these were generally a menace to society. The one redeeming feature of the system was the bringing in of the Greeks who became the teachers of the Romans in the finer elements of Hellenistic culture. In the provinces themselves, governors practiced extortion and bribery, and tax-collectors called down the opprobrium of the oppressed. New religious ideas crept in from the East to soften the old Roman faith, but to leave the masses superstitious, formal, without faith, and void of spiritual leadership.

THE GRACCHI

The story of this period of Roman history would not be complete without the mention of some outstanding individuals. In fact, we are approaching that stage where the individual superseded the powerful Senate, and where personal leadership largely determined na-

¹³New Inter. Ency.

tional policy. Already many notable men, particularly consuls who served as generals, had distinguished themselves in the conquest of territory now included in the provinces. Tiberius (163-133) and Gaius Gracchus (159-121), sons of Tiberius Gracchus, a great statesman and general with service in Spain and Sardinia and then in all the high offices of the Republic, were brought up under the special care and training of their mother, Cornelia, one of the famous mothers of antiquity, the father having died while the boys were young. The former took part in the wars of Africa and was a hero in the destruction of Carthage. In Spain he was a successful mediator between the Numantians and the Roman army because of the high esteem in which his father had been held. While the aristocratic party at Rome frowned upon his conciliatory methods, the populace lifted the young Gracchus to fame as the champion of justice for the common people. Slaves, as we have noted, were used on the great estates as a matter of economy. But this left the poor freemen without land or employment. As tribune Tiberius waged a strong fight for the redistribution of the public lands and the supplying of live stock and implements to the small farmers. Partisan feeling expressed itself in warmly contested elections and in riotous outbreaks. In one of these he lost his life.

Gaius, the younger and the abler of the two, was with the army in Spain when his brother was murdered. Waiting his opportunity he came to Rome and renewed the social reforms already enacted, taking the side of the people against the Senate and the nobility. One of his acts which proposed to give employment to the poor was road building, making new ones and repairing the old, and setting milestones along the highways. He sought, also, to extend the right of Roman citizenship to all the Latins and the privileges of

these, in turn, to all the Italian subjects, or allies. But the fear and hatred of his opponents among the vested interests were turned into underhanded plots, and Gaius was hounded to his death. The agrarian laws proved ineffective, both because of the foreign competition and because of the unwillingness of the rich to surrender their hold upon the public domain. The reforms, though shortlived, served to partially reorganize the administration and restore the authority of popular assemblies. The Gracchi started another movement which had far-reaching effect. The Republic will later come under the control of one man, not by his popular appeal to the city mob, but by the support of the Roman legions.

MARIUS AND SULLA

Two other military leaders now came to the fore in the affairs of the state. Apart from the conquest of the larger kingdoms already considered, Rome found it necessary to quell uprisings here and there and to guard her borders all along the line. Marius rose to fame in the Jugurthine War (112-106). Jugurtha, king of Numidia, proved a disturbing element in the peace of the province of Africa until Marius, as consul, by good generalship and good fortune, ended the struggle and brought the Numidian in chains to Rome. Shortly afterwards, the Cimbri, a band of German barbarians, threatened to invade Italy from across the Alps (102-101). Again Marius proved his worth as the defender of the country.

Next the Social Wars (90-88) engaged the attention of the Roman armies and supplied the training camp of another great soldier, Sulla. He was of noble birth, with appreciation of art and literature, and in sharp contrast with Marius, who had risen by sheer dint of courage from peasantry. The present struggle was due to Rome's refusal to grant full citizenship to her Italian

allies. Though the power of the legions put down the rebellion, the Italians really gained the victory, for within a short time the right of franchise was extended to all these peoples. The Mithridatic War (88-84) carried Sulla, now a consul, to the district of Pontus in Asia Minor where the king, Mithridates, had overrun the eastern province and threatend to annex it to his kingdom. Sulla proved victorious again, the defender of the East as Marius was of the West.

A sharp rivalry now sprang up between these leaders, not only in military preferment but in politics as well. Naturally Sulla was the champion of the aristocratic party as Marius was of the democratic cause. Civil war was the result. The end of the reign of terror came only with the sudden death of Marius. Sulla celebrated his victory over his opponents by ordering the death of every prominent man in the popular party. His idea, it seems, was to restore the power to the Senate as in the days of the Punic Wars and to destroy all efforts of the people to have a voice in the government. He was elected "Perpetual Dictator" until affairs could again be set in order. Sulla died three years later (78), and his dream of power came to an end. The Senate honored him with a costly funeral. His monument bore the inscription, "No friend ever did him a kindness and no enemy, a wrong, without being fully repaid."¹⁴

RISE OF POMPEY, 106-48

Another individual who came to dominate the Roman state was Pompey, the Great. As a youth he had his first military experience under his father in the Social War. His friendship for Sulla caused him to take the field against the adherents of Marius. He so successfully defeated this party as to win the title

¹⁴Plutarch, quoted by Webster, *Early European Hist.*, p. 180.

Magnus and election to the consulship. Later he turned against the aristocratic group and publicly espoused the people's cause. He was next (67-66) entrusted with the task of clearing the Mediterranean of pirates who preyed on commerce and harassed the wealthy coast towns. His success in that work resulted in his being sent to the East where Mithridates was again giving trouble. In the three years, 66-63, he routed the Pontic monarch, annexed Syria to the Roman dominions, settled the dispute in Judea between the Hasmonean claimants, and brought that kingdom to be tributary to Rome. These exploits won for him the reputation of being the most successful general of his time. He is credited with three triumphs at Rome.

CICERO, THE ORATOR

Our story has been brought down to the date of Roman control in Palestine. It seems well, however, to refer here to the career of the brilliant young orator, Cicero, the second Demosthenes, whose victories in the courts contributed much to the progress of affairs at Rome at this critical time. Of the same age as Pompey (106-43), he came to crown his activities with glory the same year of the great general's success in the East, 63. Cicero's father, a man of culture and very ambitious for his son, gave him the benefits of a liberal education, with special training in oratory and law. It was left for the young man to win his place in Roman life by his loyalty to the Republic, his social ties, and by an eloquence that gave him preeminence among the orators at Rome. His first important case was the impeachment of Verres, a governor of Sicily who had robbed his subjects until he had become immensely wealthy and counted on his influence at the capital to save him from punishment. Cicero marshaled such a mass of evidence that the mere reading of it, it is said,

brought the verdict of exile for the defendant. Seven years later the consulship was conferred upon the orator, and in the same year, was brought to light the bold attempt of a young nobleman, Catiline, to overthrow the government because of his own depleted financial condition. It was a daring piece of anarchy in which all the discontented of the city shared. The addresses of Cicero astounded the Senate, served to check the infamous plot, and brought lasting glory to the popular orator now gratefully called *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his Country.

While the main interest of the period has centered in the relation of Judea to Syria, and especially in the military successes of the Maccabean heroes, a glance at the chart will reveal the important events in the West that kept Rome so engaged in her wars of conquest and in her civil strife that she was not permitted to challenge Antiochus Epiphanes or his successors in the management of Judean affairs. Roman sympathy was all that the Maccabean could claim. That, at least, placed the burden of uncertainty upon the Syrians and gave the Jewish patriots freedom to press the battle for independence. If Rome had meddled with the East during this time, the story of the Jews would probably have contained none of the fervid and daring exploits of the sons of Mattathias.

THE MACCABEAN PERIOD

B. C. 167—63

B.C.	JUDEA	SYRIA	ROME
167	Revolt of Mattathias	Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164)	Macedonia reduced (168)
166	Judas Maccabeus (166-161) Wonderful success against invaders	Campaigns against Judea	Antiochus Epiphanes undisturbed
165	Rededication of the temple Religious freedom		
165	Jonathan (165-143) Diplomacy Made high priest Appearance of parties	Death in Persia Rivalry of Balas and Soter for control	Revolts in Spain (153-139) Standing army Carthage destroyed (146)
143	Simon (143-135)	Tryphon's treachery	Corinth destroyed (146)
142	Political freedom Treaty with Rome		Greece a province
135	John Hyrcanus I (135-106) Hasmonean dynasty Extends borders Samaritan temple destroyed Ease and wealth	Siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes followed by end of hostilities	Era of the Gracchi (134-121) Popular reforms Asia a province
106	Aristobulus, "King"		Marius and Sulla (106)
105	Alexander Jannæus (105-78) Extends borders Hated by Pharisees		Social Wars (90-88)
78	Alexandra (78-69) Pharisaism flourishes		Civil war Rise of Pompey (72)
77	Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II agree on division of power		Piracy destroyed
	Antipater the Idumean		Success in East (65-63)
63	Settlement of Pompey Pompey in temple Aristobulus and family carried in triumph to Rome		Cicero and Catiline Rise of Julius Cæsar

CHAPTER 5
THE ROMAN PERIOD

THE ROMAN PERIOD

B.C. 63-4

I. ROMAN CONTROL IN PALESTINE

1. The First Triumvirate.
2. Cæsar's Gallic Campaign.
3. Affairs in Judea:
 - a. Gabinius and Antipater.
 - b. Attempts to Restore the Hasmoneans.
 - c. Crassus and the Temple.
4. Cæsar, *Imperator*.
5. Antipater and Cæsar.
6. The Sons of Antipater.

II. HEROD'S RISE TO POWER

1. Governor of Galilee.
2. Marriage into Royal Family.
3. The Second Triumvirate.
4. Antony and Judea.
5. Antigonus and the Parthians.
6. Flight to Rome.

III. THE KING OF THE JEWS, 37-4

1. Period of Difficulties, 37-28. Sadducees; Hyrcanus; Alexandra and Aristobulus III; Trouble with Antony; Cleopatra; Augustus; Mariamne.
2. Period of Public Works, 28-14. Building Operations; Hellenizing Practices; Repair of Temple; Reactions of the Jews; Friendship with the Emperor.
3. Period of Decline, 14-4. Sons of Mariamne; Antipater's Schemes; Herod's Wills; Illness and Death; Herod and Christ.

IV. LITERATURE

1. *Psalms of Solomon*.
2. *Book of Jubilees*.

V. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

The Augustan Age.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROMAN PERIOD

B.C. 63-4

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

The story of Palestine is now bound up with the history of Rome, and the progress of Roman affairs at this stage is largely the account of the rise and personal power of three men. These three men, Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, joined their interests and genius in such way as to competely dominate the state. This coalition is known in history as the First Triumvirate. The glory of the Senate was gone, in spite of the efforts of Sulla and the aristocratic party to revive its ancient power. It will soon become only the tool of the emperors.

Gaius Julius Cæsar (100-44) was of noble birth, but, because of the influence of his father and of an aunt who became the wife of Marius, he espoused the democratic cause. The family of Cæsar's wife, also, was at enmity with Sulla, the dictator, and Julia, Cæsar's daughter, later became the wife of Pompey. This alignment made things unpleasant for him in Rome until Sulla's death. His public life began in earnest in 74. Four years later he attached himself to Pompey who at this time was also bidding for popular support. He was a shrewd politician, lavishing gifts and providing entertainment for the common people to augment his popularity. It is said that his expenditures for such purposes were enormous. He became Pontifex Maximus the year Pompey returned in triumph from the

East. After a brilliant career in directing the Province of Spain he returned to Rome to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, then at variance, and to form the confederation with these two powerful Romans.

Crassus (?-53) was a supporter of Sulla and the nobility. His fame was fixed by the successful termination of the revolt of the gladiators under Spartacus. He was a man of great wealth. This fact helps to explain Cæsar's use of his friendship and the later efforts of Crassus to increase his assets in the eastern campaign.

CÆSAR IN GAUL

Following the formation of the triumvirate in 60, Cæsar was awarded the Province of Gaul, and Crassus, the Province of Syria. The former now entered upon his great military campaigns (58-49) which have added such lustre to his name. When his official reports reached the Senate, that body decreed a period of fifteen days for thanksgiving. His activity not only brought the various tribes of the Transalpine country under Roman control, but served to check German invasions that might have proved disastrous, and actually carried the intrepid conqueror to the isle of Britain. A twenty-day thanksgiving period was the result back home. In these eight campaigns he mastered the north country and won for himself a popularity among his soldiers equaled only by that of Napoleon. This stood him in hand when the break came with Pompey and the Senate.

AFFAIRS IN JUDEA

Gabinus and Antipater. Meanwhile Gabinus had been left in charge of Syria by Pompey. His attitude toward Judea appears favorable in the records of Jose-

phus (*Ant.* 14: 5: 2f and *Wars*, 1: 8: 1f), particularly in his repression of the attempts of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, who had escaped from Pompey's procession on the way to Rome, to regain his father's power at Jerusalem. An army of 10,000 Jews who supported Alexander was repulsed, and the claimant who dared to question Rome's occupation was forced to sue for pardon. Cities that had been demolished in the previous conquest of the country were now rebuilt, including Samaria. Hyrcanus was again placed in charge of the temple, and the government of the nation was intrusted to five councils located in the chief cities,—a sort of aristocratic rule.

Antipater the Idumean is in evidence in the records, playing the part of an agreeable assistant to Roman plans and maintaining the favor of the Jews. As he had supplied the army of Scaurus with corn when the invasion of Arabia was being made, and then acted as mediator in inducing Aretas, king of that country, to treat with the Roman general, so now he supplied Gabinius with weapons and provisions and assisted him in driving Alexander from Judea. He sought to persuade the Jews who rallied to the Hasmonean claimant against their spirit of sedition, and Josephus tells us that Gabinius "settled the affairs of Jerusalem as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination."

Attempts to Restore the Hasmoneans. That the Jews had developed a spirit and a power of resistance is manifest in the several attempts of Aristobulus and his sons to regain control in Judea. Under the Persians and later under the Ptolemies and Seleucids the Jews were rather passive and inclined to accept any foreign authority without protest. But the century of Maccabean liberties had encouraged a new national spirit and had convinced them and others of a military capacity not to be despised. For thirty years from the

beginning of the Roman period their story is marked by several desperate efforts to re-establish themselves in their political privileges. Probably the Pharisaic teachings, also, had much to do with stimulating their patriotic fervor. The hatred of the Roman yoke that is revealed in New Testament times had its inception just here, as did also the movement of the Zealots. Alexander was able to muster an army sufficiently large to take Jerusalem and overawe the Roman garrison. In a second attempt he led an army of 30,000 irreconcilables into battle with Gabinius at Mt. Gerizim and lost. Aristobulus himself made his escape from Rome, with his son Antigonus, and attempted to retake the country. But, made a prisoner by Gabinius, he was again sent to Rome where he remained until the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey. The former freed him and sought to use him with two legions of soldiers to molest Pompey in Syria, but he was poisoned, it is thought, by a friend of the latter. About this time Alexander was beheaded at Antioch by order of Pompey. Antigonus, the other son, will appear in the time of Herod and will succeed in actually obtaining the reigns of government for a brief time.

Crassus and the Temple. Another disturbance in Judea was occasioned when Crassus assumed charge of Syria following the formation of the triumvirate. His first plan was to make war on the Parthians, that ancient power in the East whose reputation for prowess in the field of conflict extended back to the time of Cyrus. The real purpose of the campaign seems to have been to supplement his fortunes, for he plundered the cities and temples of Syria relentlessly. The Temple at Jerusalem was pillaged. The priest Eleazar gave him certain valuable treasures under promise that the consecrated vessels would not be disturbed. But the show of wealth caused Crassus to break his vow and to strip the

sanctuary. The Jews long remembered this sacrilege as in sharp contrast with the generous spirit of Pompey. When Crassus a little later lost his life on the borders of Armenia they attributed it to his godless act of trespass. The spirit of insurrection was again aroused, but Cassius returned with the remnant of the army of Crassus and quieted the disturbance among the Jews by selling some 30,000 into slavery.

CROSSING THE RUBICON

The death of Crassus broke the triumvirate and hastened the growing jealousy between Pompey and Cæsar. The great Gallic wars had brought vast new possessions to Rome and a surpassing glory to Cæsar. Pompey, too, was gradually swinging back to the aristocratic party at this time. His idleness in Rome gave occasion for envy of his confederate in the field. It was the fear also of many of the Senate, Cicero included, that the conqueror of the Alps aimed at despotic power. That body was induced to demand that Cæsar lay down his arms or be declared an outlaw. With his loyal troops at his heels Cæsar crossed the little stream separating his province from Italy proper and headed toward Rome in a war on the Republic. Pompey was unable to rally an army to resist the popular hero. Within three months Cæsar was master of Italy, with the support of Spain, and ready to face Pompey who had taken a stand in Greece. Once more the East and the West clash, this time to settle rival claims within the Roman State and between two of the greatest generals of all time. At Pharsalus in 48 the battle was joined, Pompey's army was routed, and he fled to Egypt where he was later treacherously slain.

CÆSAR, IMPERATOR

Cæsar was now bent on complete mastery of the Republic. Accordingly, in the next two years he overran Egypt and Asia Minor where unrest prevailed. Cleopatra, the beautiful queen of Egypt, was confirmed in her control of that country as a Roman province, and an attempted revolt by the son of Mithridates of Pontus was quickly crushed. From this success Cæsar sent his memorable message to the Senate: "I came, I saw, I conquered." In North Africa the Pompeian generals, Scipio and Cato, were defeated, and the conqueror returned to Rome to enjoy a series of splendid triumphs and a brief span of unlimited power. Unlike Marius and Sulla, he laid aside his personal grudge against the friends of Pompey and gave attention to righting the many social wrongs of the capital. In 46 he proved a blessing to his posterity by the reformation of the calendar. The fifth month (Quintilis) was named Julius in his honor. In the midst of plans for reforming the provincial system, codifying the Roman laws, founding libraries and otherwise bettering the living conditions of his people, he was treacherously assassinated on the Ides of March, 44. His government was a monarchy in everything except in name. He had been made dictator for life, and, refusing the title of king, was called *Imperator*—the epithet accorded a victorious general. The untimely death at the hands of jealous nobles, headed by Brutus and Cassius, brought to an end the promise of a reign as brilliant as his military conquests.

ANTIPATER AND CÆSAR

The shrewdness of Antipater in making himself useful to the Roman consuls in their eastern schemes was again manifest in his dealings with Cæsar in Egypt.

His friendship for Pompey, growing out of the settlement of the contest between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus in favor of the latter, had continued until the death of the great general. Cæsar's act in freeing Aristobulus and supplying him with an army did not appear favorable to the ambitions of Antipater. He at once, therefore, turned his attention toward the expedition of Cæsar to Egypt with a view to courting the favor of the new dictator. It is indicated that he personally led a force of 3,000 Jews into battle, that he won to Cæsar the favor of the Jews who had settled in Upper Egypt, and that he is actually credited in the records with turning the tide of victory to the Roman army. A point of difficulty arose in the appeal of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, that he be permitted to occupy the place of authority in Judea which had been held by his father. He openly charged Hyrcanus and Antipater with violence and treachery. The defense of the Idumean was the baring of his body revealing the scars he had received in fighting the battles of Cæsar, together with the protest that Aristobulus and Alexander had been put to death as enemies of the state. This speech of Antipater resulted in the naming of Hyrcanus as Ethnarch and high priest and Antipater as Procurator of all Judea, including Samaria and Galilee.

THE SONS OF ANTIPATER

The friendship of Cæsar was used to great advantage by Antipater in promoting the general welfare of the Jews as well as for his own advancement and power. It was the policy of Cæsar to grant large measures of liberty to his subjects. So, when an embassy of Jews presented him with a golden shield as a token of a league that they desired to make with Rome, it was readily accepted and proclamation was made in writing by "Gaius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul" that

certain specific privileges should be extended them just as if they had been an independent nation. In spite of this splendid achievement at the hands of Antipater, the Jews had come to suspect his motives and to chafe under his domination. This was especially true when, at this time, he took the advanced step of naming his two sons as governors, Phasaël (Phasaëlus) of Jerusalem, and Herod of Galilee. While the stronger of the two, Herod, was assigned to the northern territory, he was destined to become the master of the southern division of the nation and play a vital part in the history of the Jews for the next half century. The Sadducean aristocracy was particularly interested in restoring the power to the family of Hyrcanus, but the shrewdness of Antipater and the general ability of his sons forestalled any revolutionary change in administration. The sudden death of Cæsar came nearer bringing disruption to the plans than anything else, but, true to policy, Antipater at once transferred his allegiance to the republican cause and began to collect the exorbitant taxes that had been imposed upon the country by Cassius in his effort to hold his grip on Syria and the East. The distrust of the Idumean was brought to a head, however, by one Malichus, who thought the removal of this man would save Judea for the Jews; so, Antipater was secretly poisoned. But the crime brought its reaction and its penalty. The people mourned the dead leader as a pious patriot and began at once to feel the force of the greater peril in the person of his son.

II. HEROD'S RISE TO POWER

GOVERNOR OF GALILEE

The first acts of the governor of Galilee, after the manner of his father's, were calculated to win favor with the Roman power and with the people of his realm.

His speedy collection of taxes in advance of any other petty ruler in the East at once gained the approbation of Cassius. His courageous action against a band of robbers under the leadership of one Hezekiah brought relief from this marauding band, the gratitude of the Syrians, and the friendship of Sextus Cæsar, now proconsul of the province. Herod was at once reappointed governor. It is supposed that these "robbers" were the scattered remnants of the army of Aristobulus. At any rate, trouble arose for Herod from this act. The mothers of the slain men complained to Hyrcanus, and some of the principal men raised a point of law, calling attention to the fact that the death penalty could be imposed only by the Sanhedrin. Accordingly Herod was called to face that tribunal. He came, not as a private citizen, but with a bodyguard and with royal apparel that overawed the members of the council. Only one man, Sameas (Shammai), spoke out concerning the outrage, closing his tirade with the prediction that the prisoner would one day punish both the Sanhedrin and the high priest. Meanwhile Sextus Cæsar had warned Hyrcanus to dismiss the case against the governor. So, when he saw that the council was much wrought up and in the act of pronouncing the death sentence, he put off the conclusion of the trial until the next day and advised Herod to escape. Having retired to Damascus as if in flight, Herod was awarded the governorship of Cœle-Syria by the proconsul and was hardly restrained from marching against Hyrcanus to avenge the wrong that had been done his honor.

MARRIAGE INTO PRIESTLY FAMILY

With the retirement of Cassius from Syria in 42, Antigonius made another attempt to regain control of Judea. The effort, however, was futile in spite of the

fact that he had enlisted the support of rulers of neighboring cities in his plans. Herod and Phasaël met him on the borders of their possessions and defeated him. Josephus tells us (*Ant.* 14: 12: 1) that when Herod came to Jerusalem following the encounter "Hyrcanus and the people put garlands upon his head." The high priest had found the Galilean governor useful in defense, and Herod had come to regard Hyrcanus, though indolent and troublesome, as a power to be reckoned with, chiefly because of the Jewish esteem of his office. The fuller explanation of the changes of attitude toward each other is to be found in the fact that Herod had very astutely espoused Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, and granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and thus assumed the prerogatives of one who united both the contending branches of the Hasmonean house.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Following the death of Cæsar, Antony, his friend and lieutenant, and the only one left in the consular office, made himself master of the situation at Rome. Brutus and Cassius fled to the provinces that had been assigned to them previously. Cæsar's will named Octavian (Octavius) as his heir and successor, and the spare, studious youth of eighteen now appeared to claim his inheritance. He was not long in gaining popular favor, nor in winning over the Senate to a recognition of his powers of leadership. He was looked upon as a restorer of the Republic. But Octavian saw the senatorial policies in their true light. He did not wait long, therefore, to change his opposition to Antony to alliance with him and with Lepidus, another of Cæsar's lieutenants, in the Second Triumvirate. The city passed under military control and under tyrannical butchery.

The illustrious Cicero was one of some two thousand persons of high rank who stood between the three and autocracy. The battle of Philippi, 42, saw the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius, the defenders of the Republic.

Lepidus was soon set aside and the other two men divided the Roman world between them, Octavian taking Italy and the West, and Antony occupying the East with Alexandria as his capital. Affairs moved along serenely enough at Rome. Something of the method and spirit of Cæsar characterized his successor. But in the Egyptian city Antony was mastered by the charms of Cleopatra until he apparently lost all interest in governmental problems, save as they were related to his wild romance, and until his conduct brought shame to the Roman people.

ANTONY AND JUDEA

The change of masters in the East brought corresponding changes in the movements of the Judean rulers. It was the fortune of the Idumeans, in their ambitious schemes, to find themselves lined up with the losing side. But it must be said to their credit that they knew how to turn defeat into victory. The death of Cæsar had placed Antipater and his sons under the jurisdiction of Cassius. Now, after his defeat at Philippi by Octavian and Antony, the East must readjust itself to the policies and whims of a new master. The Jews sought out Antony on two occasions as he entered Syria and complained concerning the power of Herod and Phasaël and their disregard of Hyrcanus as the head of the nation. No fewer than a thousand appeared before him again at Tyre to demand relief, but the mob was dispersed by Roman daggers. It is indicated that on account of the old friendship for

Antipater, and the bribes that the sons heaped upon him, Antony confirmed both in their positions with the title *Tetrarch*. Hyrcanus was thus definitely set aside and the territory of Judea was recognized as a separate Roman province (41).

ANTIGONUS AND THE PARTHIANS

At this juncture the Parthians entered Syria. Antigonus used the opportunity to enlist them in a second attempt to seize the government, offering them a large sum of money to aid him in his plans. The Jews naturally welcomed the advancing troops as deliverers from the control of Herod and the Romans. The invaders reached Jerusalem without delay and by means of strategy secured the persons of Hyrcanus and Phasaël. Attempt was also made to arrest Herod, but being warned by his brother he sought safety in flight. So distressing was his plight at this time that, while making his way with his family toward Idumea with the Parthians pursuing, he considered taking his own life. Antigonus, duly enthroned but afraid of Hyrcanus as a rival to the throne, had his ears cut off that he might be barred from the high priesthood, and then sent him to Babylonia (cf. Lev. 21: 17-24). Under the Jewish name Mattathias, Antigonus assumed the priestly office. Phasaël felt the disgrace of his captive position, and being unable to secure other means for self-destruction, dashed his head against a stone.

FLIGHT TO ROME

Herod was ignorant of his brother's death and sought aid from the Arabian king to redeem Phasaël from the invaders, but the Arabians were afraid of such penalties as the Parthian general might impose for this act. Herod, therefore, continued his flight to Egypt and thence to Rome. He related the story of the invasion

to Antony who, with Octavian, introduced him to the Senate. Again their remembrance of the loyalty of Antipater and the capacity of Herod to offer bribes stood him in hand. Antigonos, too, was regarded as an enemy of the state. These facts brought speedy relief to the spirit of Herod. Within seven days the fugitive, expecting nothing for himself but wishing to ask that the kingdom be conferred on his wife's brother, a member of the reigning family of Judea, was sailing for home with kingship and imperial sanction in his possession.

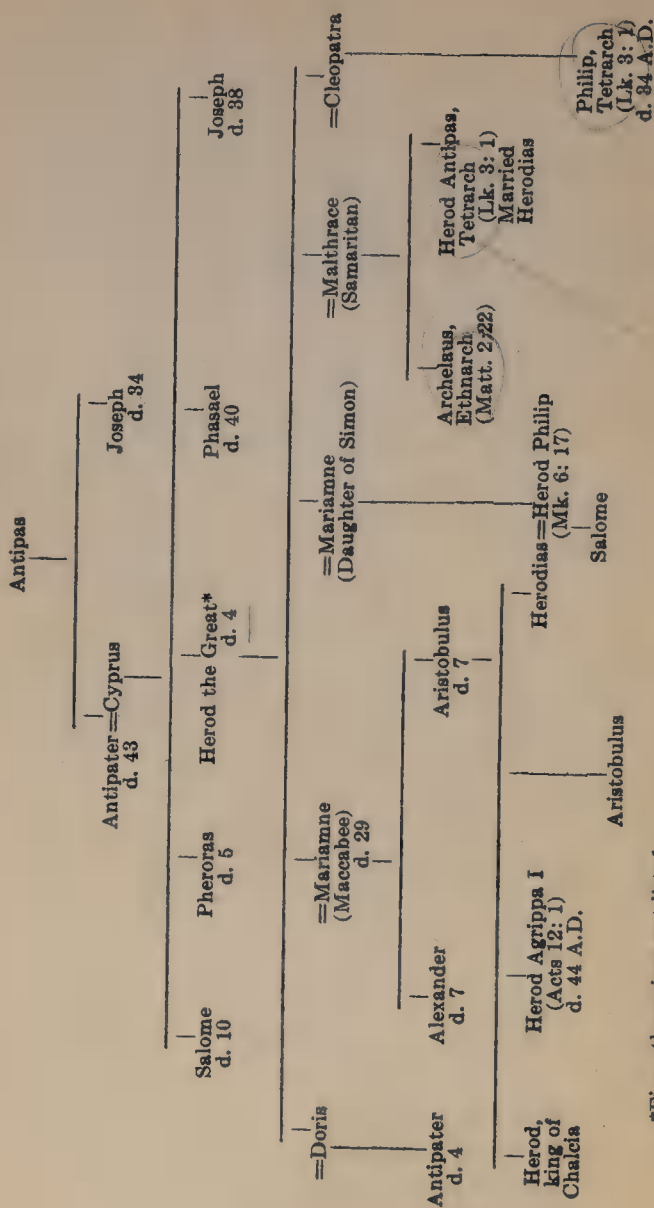
The title "King of the Jews" did not give Herod the immediate entrance upon his kingdom, but it did give him the backing of Rome and the determination to win the throne from the usurper. With the aid of a Roman army he began a three-year conquest against Antigonos and the Parthians. The masses, particularly the Galileans, soon came to join the army of the Idumean because of the acts of plundering committed by the invaders. It was only by degrees, however, that the Jews relinquished their hold upon the degenerate representative of their royal family and accepted Rome's choice of the half-foreign claimant. Jerusalem was finally taken after a five months' siege. Antigonos was delivered to Antony, and at Herod's request, executed. The Hasmonean house had at last come to an end.

III. HEROD AS KING OF THE JEWS, B.C. 37-4

The long and eventful reign of Herod over Judea may be divided, for convenience of study, into three periods—the period of difficulties, then his public works, and finally, his decline and death, with an evaluation of his character and work.

THE HEROD FAMILY

(DOWN TO THE TIME OF CHRIST)



*Five other wives not listed.

THE PERIOD OF DIFFICULTIES, 37-28

It was to be expected that Herod, once he was seated on his throne, would rid himself of all those who had stood in his way. He was a politician of the shrewdest sort and, perhaps, of the lowest type. His friendships and his animosities were largely the result of ulterior motives. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn from Josephus (15: 1: 1) that the first act of the king was to break the power of the Sadducees. They were the aristocrats and supporters of the Hasmoneans, and, as such, they largely made up the Jewish Sanhedrin. He avenged these enemies by despoiling their wealthy men and by slaying forty-five of the leaders of the party. The money thus secured was presented to Antony and his courtiers. Two outstanding men of the Pharisaic party, Pollio (Abtalion) and Sameas (Shammai), were signally honored, because they had advised the citizens of Jerusalem to receive Herod without disturbance and had prophesied in the council concerning his accession to the throne.

The problems of Herod also included the family of his wife. Hyrcanus had been treated kindly by Phraates, king of the Parthians, and allowed much freedom among the Jews. He was loved both for his quiet demeanor and for his long tenure of the high priesthood. When he expressed a desire to return to Jerusalem with the hope that Herod might recall old favors shown him, the Jews urged him to remain in Babylonia because they felt it was "for his own advantage." Herod encouraged his coming, however, and received him with all possible courtesy, calling him father and honoring him with the chief seat on public occasions. The plan of Herod, evidently, was to bring him under his control that he might later make way with him. At this time he appointed an obscure Baby-

lonian Jew to the office of high priest, one Ananelus, choosing an unknown person rather than elevate some one who might prove a rival of the king's popularity.

The appointment of Ananelus as high priest was a disappointment to at least one member of the family of Hyrcanus who from this time forth greatly increased the problems of Herod. Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne, thought her son Aristobulus (III) should have been honored with the office, though the claim was not made on a basis of succession, for his appointment would have been as illegal as was that of Ananelus. Alexandra secretly communicated with Cleopatra and asked her to use her influence with Antony to correct the slight that had been done this son. Not knowing what might be the outcome of this appeal, and being besought earnestly by his wife, Herod now transferred the office to Aristobulus, indicating to his friends that the other man had been chosen only because the son of Alexandra was so young. At the same time Herod drew an apology from his mother-in-law for her underhanded work, and all seemed to be settled amicably. He deemed it advisable, however, to place her under guard in the palace. It was not long before she again wrote to Cleopatra complaining of her hardships. She now planned to escape, with her son, from the power of Herod. The king upset the plan, but, in order to court favor with Cleopatra, calmly ignored the incident while determining to be rid of Aristobulus.

The young and handsome high priest was the idol of the people at the forthcoming Feast of Tabernacles. The many expressions of rejoicing served to arouse the jealousy of Herod who resolved the more to execute his plan. Accordingly the young man went with the servants of the king in bathing in the warm springs of Jericho and, by appointment, was drowned as if by accident. The tragedy cast a gloom over Jerusalem,

Alexandra, of course, was most deeply affected, and this was augmented by learning the secret of the occurrence. She thought of suicide, then determined to quietly bide her time and avenge the death of her son. To cover up the crime Herod made a great funeral for the youth, but little show of remorse.

Herod was summoned before Antony to make explanation of the murder of Aristobulus. Before leaving Jerusalem he placed his uncle, Joseph, in charge of affairs, particularly in the king's family, with secret instructions to slay Mariamne if he should be put to death in Egypt. Cleopatra was behind the summons, and Herod had no recourse but to face the uncertain issue. His strange, dual personality of love and hate is reflected in the charge to his uncle concerning the queen. It turned out that Joseph, in his desire to serve the best interests of his sovereign, talked often with Mariamne about Herod's magnanimous spirit, going so far as to relate to her the secret command as an illustration of Herod's love for her. A rumor now became current that Herod had been slain. Alexandra lost no time in treating with Joseph for the safety of herself and daughter in flight. But Herod had bought favor with Antony, and returned home to face the situation with his wife and her mother. After a scene of affectionate avowal of love for Mariamne, she pointedly asked the reason for the instructions to his uncle. A sharp misunderstanding thus terminated the love scene and Herod rushed out in a rage to slay Joseph and have Alexandra bound. He also considered slaying his wife. Herod's sister and mother, Salome and Cyprus, also bore ill-will toward Mariamne, and added to this disorder in the palace at this time by charging her with political plotting with Joseph.

Cleopatra had other interests in Judea besides a sympathy for Alexandra and disfavor toward Herod. She

sought to gain possession of both Judea and Syria. Antony was a slave to her enticing charms, but managed to offset her great desire for control of the East. He did give her some parts of several kingdoms, especially Judea and Arabia, but at the same time maintained friendly relations with Herod. While passing through Jerusalem on a visit to her territory, Cleopatra sought to ensnare Herod by feigning affection for him, thinking thus to bring him to answer before Antony and secure his territory. Herod was hardly dissuaded by his counsellors from taking her life, but instead, graciously conferred gifts upon her and escorted her back to Egypt.

The infatuation of Antony for the covetous and lustful "Queen of Kings" not only brought disgrace to the Roman State but actual war with Octavian. The struggle for the mastery of the world was impending at Actium (31). True to his friend, Herod made ready a body of troops to aid him, but Antony indifferently declined assistance. Instead, Herod was sent into Arabia to punish that king for his negligence in paying the annual tribute. It is in connection with this fighting that Josephus records (*Ant.* 15: 5: 4) the one instance of Herod offering sacrifices to God. There had been a distressing defeat and then a great earthquake, but following the religious rites a sweeping victory was gained.

In the bay of Actium the navies of Antony and Cleopatra were defeated and demolished under the direction of Octavian. History records how first Cleopatra and then Antony calmly sailed away, almost at the beginning of the battle, and left their fleet at the mercy of the contender. The army of Antony, in the prolonged absence of their leader, also yielded. Octavian pursued the infatuated pair to Egypt where a double suicide brought an end to two strange careers and placed

that country in the provincial system of the empire. On the return to Rome there was a three-day triumph of Octavian, now *Augustus Cæsar*, the master of the Roman world.

Once more the Idumean ruler of Judea must change allegiance in order to save his kingdom. Herod prepared to face Augustus, while his friends and enemies alike despaired of the results. The strong friendship he had had for Antony made the outcome most uncertain. But before setting out to meet the emperor he deemed it expedient to do away with Hyrcanus, the only one of royal dignity in his way. Alexandra had aroused her father to negotiate with Malchus, governor of Arabia, for protection in case of wrong coming to Herod. The servants entrusted with the communication knew better than to be involved in a plot against the king, so the plan was revealed and the old priest was caught red-handed. Placing the women under guard, under a show of safety for them, yet with secret orders for the death of his wife and mother-in-law, and leaving the affairs of state in the hands of his brother, Pheroras, Herod boldly met Augustus with a frank confession of his friendship for Antony and his desire now to prove the same qualities with him. The apparent sincerity of Herod and his generous bestowal of gifts captivated the emperor who sent him home in full favor and honor, "one of Cæsar's most cordial friends."

But Mariamne had learned, as before, of the king's secret orders concerning her imprisonment, so did not greet him with any show of pleasure upon his joyous return. Salome and Cyprus again brought calumnies against her. The beautiful and true wife, wearied with this persecution, having reproached Herod relative to the low estate of his family, now bluntly charged him with the murder of her father and brother. Alexandra,

too, for the sake of her own safety, charged her daughter with being an ill woman and ungrateful toward her husband. After a mock trial Mariamne was executed. When she was dead, the moody king's old love for her returned. He first sought to bury himself in affairs of state, then laying aside his public life, betook himself into seclusion in great nervous disorder. Fearing his early death, Alexandra schemed to get control of the fortifications about the city, but her movements were again ill-timed and lacking in precaution, so her plan was discovered and she was put to death.

As a result of this long list of murders, the family of Hyrcanus was entirely blotted out and the kingdom was wholly in Herod's hands. Others not mentioned in this sketch were removed from the selfish, autocratic course of the king. Men quailed before him and dared not to lift a hand in protest. Fresh domestic troubles figured in the closing period of his life, but with the great problems settled and in the heyday of friendship with the Emperor, Herod now entered upon the outstanding era of his reign, the constructive and stabilizing years that portrayed another distinct side to his character.

PERIOD OF PUBLIC WORKS, 28-14

This period is marked by a variety of peaceful undertakings, particularly as manifesting his leaning toward Roman fashions and his own passion for display. It would be difficult to determine which of the two motives was the more prominent, but it happened that the one served to stimulate the other, and both enabled Herod to be known as a promoter of Roman civilization and a friend of the Cæsars.

After the Greek style, he instituted games to be played every fifth year in honor of Augustus. For this

purpose he built a theatre at Jerusalem and a very large amphitheatre on the plain near the city. Something of the old Olympian contests was reproduced, with athletes coming from other lands to participate in wrestling matches, chariot races, musical contests, and the like. The city was bedecked with inscriptions concerning the great deeds of the Emperor, and with trophies of the nations that had been conquered by him. Herod collected a menagerie of wild beasts, some for their rarity and others for gladiatorial contests. So great was the outlay of wealth in these things that visitors to the city from other countries marveled at the accomplishments and the glory of the Judean monarch.

Naturally many of the Jews looked with disfavor upon all these things. So distressing had been the trying days of Herod's ascendancy that the great mass of the people calmly acquiesced in the innovations, but in the trophies fastened to the walls of the Temple the loyal worshipers saw a dissolution of their customs and a profanation of sacred things. In response to their complaint Herod called together certain eminent men among them and showed them that these trophies were not *images*, as they had supposed, but merely carved wood. This satisfied the leaders, but there were ten men who persisted in their opposition, swore the death of the king, and would have accomplished their aim but for one of the spies whom he had appointed for such purposes. The ten were tormented to death; the spy was torn to pieces by other citizens; then the families of these, in turn, were destroyed, after women had been tortured to disclose the information.

Herod's building operations are the most important development of the time. He seems to have been following the Roman plan of rebuilding the Greek cities and temples for political reasons. Fortresses were built

at Jerusalem (Antonia) and at Cesarea on the coast, formerly Strato's Tower. Samaria (called Sebaste) was given a wall enclosing more territory, a garrison, and a temple. The king next built a great palace for himself, with apartments named for the Roman leaders. The building, it seems, was not only outwardly magnificent in keeping with the royal dignity, but spacious and well adapted to the housing of troops.

The next undertaking was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. A shudder filled the hearts of the Jews for fear that this great task would fail when the old structure had been torn away. But Herod assured them that he would not destroy the building until all preparations for its reconstruction had been made. The Temple proper, enlarged and beautified, was completed by the priests in eighteen months, the people giving thanks to God and to the king for their new sanctuary. Josephus says it did not rain during the day, but only at night, throughout this year and a half, so that the work was not hindered on account of weather conditions. (Other sources indicate that the Temple buildings were in process of construction from B. C. 19 to A. D. 65. Cf. John 2: 20 and "46 years," i. e., up to that time.)

The two sides of Herod's character are strikingly portrayed in the account of his dealings with his subjects at this stage. He kept his people obedient, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 15: 9: 5), "both by the fear they had for him and by the provident care he showed toward them." During a period of drought and pestilence he showed to best advantage. He stripped his palace, the tribute being cut off, and procured corn, clothing, and seed with which to replant the crops. Upon two occasions he reduced the tax assessment. These acts of kindness, together with the rebuilding of

the Temple, for a time wiped out much of the old hatred of the Jews for their king. On the other hand, a tampering with the law concerning thieves met with stern protest upon the part of the people. The law said fourfold restitution must be made or the guilty one should be enslaved six years, or until the return of the Sabbatical year. Herod now required ejection from the realm instead. It seemed "a piece of insolence in Herod." More serious was the Hellenizing tendency, especially the festival and games that followed the completion of Cesarea. Herod also entered the sepulchre of David, as Hyrcanus had done, and removed the rich furnishings. He allowed no public meetings in which opportunity for criticism might be given. He not only appointed spies, but often went himself, in disguise, among the people with an open ear. He sought to require an oath of fidelity from all. This aroused the Pharisees, many of whom were put to death. He was careful to maintain fortifications against uprisings among his subjects, while catering in every way to the approval of Rome.

The Jewish historian has attempted to deal fairly with the great qualities in Herod. While showing the grounds for the hatred borne to him by his subjects, he is careful to magnify the strong personal relations between him and Augustus. "He had arrived at that pitch of felicity," says Josephus, "that whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar (Augustus), and then Agrippa (Marcus), who was his principal favorite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod besides Cæsar" (*Ant.*, 15: 10: 3). This Marcus Agrippa was highly entertained on a visit to Judea. The sons of Herod received the favor and privileges of the court while studying in Rome. The jurisdiction of the king was

extended to the region about Panium and the headwaters of the Jordan. The passion for building expressed itself in honoring the Emperor as well as in beautifying and strengthening his own realm. Not only was this true throughout Palestine, but foreign cities felt his beneficence, such as Rhodes, Nicopolis on the bay of Actium, Athens, and Antioch. His prominence and encouragement attracted Greek writers and teachers to his court, chief among whom was Nicolaus of Damascus, his secretary and biographer. It is recorded that Augustus and Agrippa often said of Herod that his dominions were too small for his "greatness of soul," and that he should have held all of Syria and Egypt (*Ant.* 16: 5: 1). His harshness toward the Jews is accounted for as the necessary means of procuring the income sufficient to support his ambition for display and personal glory.

PERIOD OF DECLINE, 14-4

The closing period of Herod's life is largely the story of fresh domestic troubles, involving his sons and their schemes to inherit his kingdom. Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne, had been sent to Rome for their education. Upon their return home at this time they became the occasion for much political unrest. Salome, the king's sister, and the enemies of Mariamne feared the boys would come to the throne and avenge the death of their mother. Herod was at length led to suspect them and, therefore, to turn his love for them into hatred. The work of Salome and Pheroras, brother of the king, was subtle and diplomatic, while the boys openly and rashly resented their slurs until the whole city was in an uproar.

To offset the supposed ambition of the sons of Mariamne, Herod brought Antipater, his eldest son by

Doris, to the Court. He was shrewd, and added to the difficulty of the situation by harassing the other two sons and by humoring his father. Taken to Rome to form the acquaintance of the Emperor, he continued to press his designs from the capital until Herod decided to accuse the two boys at the Roman court. Here Alexander tearfully made their defense. Augustus was sympathetic and induced Herod to become reconciled to them. Harmony was apparently restored, but in the announcement of his will soon afterward Herod placed Antipater first, then Alexander and Aristobulus.

The patched-up truce could not last long. Salome and Pheroras kept up their plots until Herod sent them out of the realm for a time. Suspicion fell on Alexander. Witnesses were tortured for evidence. Spies lurked everywhere. One domestic accused another for self-preservation. Herod expelled old friends because of Antipater. Finally he was turned definitely against his sons. Augustus gave him full authority over them and advised that a trial be held. Here the appeal of Tero, an old soldier who dared to speak out, was set aside by a false accusation brought against him. Herod seemed bewildered by the exchange of charge and counter charge. Witnesses swore to anything to save their own lives. More than three hundred persons were implicated in one way or another. At the last and in utter desperation, Herod ordered that the boys be strangled.

The hatred of the right-thinking people of all the nation fell upon Antipater for the slaughter of his brothers. But he had set his head on securing the throne and seemed willing to stop at nothing until this could be accomplished. He now plotted with the weakling Pheroras to have his father poisoned. The plot was exposed, but the blame fell on Pheroras who was again driven away. Antipater sent another potion of

the poison, while his friends brought accusations against Archelaus and Philip, other sons of Herod. At last the king was brought to see the perfidy of Antipater and ordered the son to trial. He was condemned to die and left bound until Cæsar could be informed.

Meanwhile Herod became afflicted with an incurable disease. Broken and soured, he gave way to the whims of an old man. In this state he made his second will, naming Antipas, his youngest son, as successor. He had come to hate Archelaus and Philip because of Antipater's intrigues. Shortly before his death he changed his will again, this time naming Archelaus as king and Antipas and Philip as tetrarchs. Realizing that he could not recover, and knowing that his people despised him and would be pleased at the news of his death, in order that there might be appropriate mourning at his passing he ordered the slaying of one member from each family of the nation. This, however, seems not to have been carried out. One of his last acts was the suppression of a sedition led by Judas and Matthias in their objection to a golden eagle which Herod had erected over the great gate of the Temple. Down to his last breath he was in arms against his enemies and resenting any act that was characterized to slight his position and authority. In the misery of his physical state the king sought to take his own life, but this was prevented. A commotion was created on this account, and Antipater, hearing it from his prison cell, decided his father must be dead. He at once began to treat with the jailer for his release. But when this was brought to the attention of Herod, in his last hours he ordered the execution of his son. A great funeral was made for the king, and Archelaus assumed the headship of the government.

HEROD AND A NEW KING

The character that has been portrayed with such care by Josephus fits at once and unmistakably the "Herod the king" of Matthew's gospel (2: 1-22). Arbitrary and cruel, bitterly hated by the masses of the Jews, ever on the alert for attempts to destroy him, and always mindful of the fact that he was a usurper, belonging neither to the Maccabean nor to the Davidic line, he was manifestly disturbed when the Magi appeared at the court to inquire, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" This probably took place in B.C. 6 (or 5), within two years of his death, so that the strain of domestic troubles and the misery of physical disorder found natural expression in the slaughter of the infants of Bethlehem. If this incident was known by Josephus who was born forty years later, he either passed it by as insignificant in the shadow of larger crimes, or else purposefully omitted reference to it out of disregard of the question of the Messiaship of Jesus of Nazareth.

But a greater than Herod had come to be king; not merely to be King of the Jews, and certainly not to be king in the room of Herod; but King of Jews and Gentiles, of bond and free, of the nations and races of the earth; and King in our hearts!

IV. LITERATURE

Two books which seem to reflect the early Roman period are worthy of mention. These are *The Psalms of Solomon* and *The Book of Jubilees*. Their value and importance lie in the fact that they reflect the New Testament times as perhaps none of the other Apocryphal or apocalyptic books. In the pictures of moral laxity, of doctrinal emphasis, and Messianic hope, they

reveal much of the religious outlook in Judea at the time of the appearing of Christ.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

This is a collection of 18 psalms that were written, apparently, in Palestine in the Hebrew language by a Pharisee. The second of the collection describes Pompey's death and thus serves to fix the date of composition. The author complains that *the righteous* are disturbed because a party, called *the sinners*, is in power, having usurped the throne and the priesthood. Certain peculiar Pharisaic tenets are found in the book, such as the ideal theocracy, hope of the Messiah, future retribution, and freedom of the will. The most important feature of the outlook is the description of the Messiah, who is to be a king of the line of David, who will drive out the Romans (Gentiles) and the Sadducees (sinners), restore the scattered tribes of Israel and the glories of the city and Temple, and convert the nations. His reign is sketched as one of holiness and justice, but not by force of arms. Most vital of all is the fact that Messiah is a *person* and that the term *Christos* is applied here for the first time in apocalyptic literature.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES, OR LITTLE GENESIS

This is a narrative of the Genesis stories from the point of view of the later age. An angel is represented as telling Moses at Sinai about the creation. All events are dated according to a chronological scheme of years, weeks of years, and jubilees, with emphasis on the cycle of feasts. The author cannot be affiliated with any of the politico-religious parties. He is a true Jew who in time of great moral lethargy would call the people back to faith in God. The Jewish ordinances

had been neglected, disobedience was rampant, and the people had sunk into indifference and unconcern. The worth of the treatise lies in this earnest call to the Jews to reform and revival. It is in the spirit of a John the Baptist stirring the people to a sense of their duties and obligations.

2 *Esdras* calls for a word of mention. It is one of the most interesting of the books of the Apocrypha. The setting suggests the time of the fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, and thus beyond the limits of our story. The picture of despair is offset by the hope of the Messiah, expressed in such terms as "my son Jesus" and "my son Christ" (7: 28f). The strange apocalyptic visions (Chapters 3-14) give us the angel Uriel "to complete the glorious quarternion—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel—who stood on the four corners of the throne of God." In the same strain it tells us that the lost tribes are hidden somewhere in the East awaiting the Messiah who will lead them back to their own land.

V. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

THE AUGUSTAN AGE

We have been using the terms *Empire* and *Emperor* as references were made to the authority and domain of Augustus. A hundred years of dissension and civil strife marked the doom of the Republic. A city-state had been suddenly lifted to the pinnacle of universal power, but the governmental foundations and the moral stamina of her people had proved too limited and unstable for such a structure. Wealth and idleness ruined Roman society, and Senatorial honor and prestige yielded to partisan politics and an influential nobility. Attempts at reform like those of the Gracchi were temporary and futile. With the power of popular assembly

broken, there arose individual leaders, similar to the military heroes of Old Testament times, each moving up beyond his predecessor toward imperial control. Actium (31) left Octavian the undisputed master of practically all of the then known world.

The early history of the Empire is a story of good government, peace, and prosperity. Augustus ruled through a show of popular government. He was not Dictator, but *Princeps*, the Prince, the "First Citizen." "The old institutions of Rome still walked like well pleased shadows about the Forum and the Campus."¹ The Senate met, discussed the questions of the day, and passed resolutions as in the days of Cato and Cicero, while Augustus was "careful not to dispel the illusion." Civil affairs in the provinces were greatly improved. Rights of citizenship and municipal privileges were extended to them. Means of communication and the orderly preservation of records brought the ends of the Empire into contact with the capital. A vast commerce linked Spain and Syria, Africa and the Rhine and Danube, and this all radiated through Rome the great metropolis, the new Babylon.

Efforts were made to break down the old social distinctions about the court into a single body politic—the Roman People. The Emperor sought to initiate reforms of manners and customs, encouraging simpler modes of living, domestic virtues, and religious practices. Under the counsel of Agrippa, the hero of Actium and friend of the king, Rome was bedecked with beautiful parks and magnificent public buildings. The old motto, "Bread and the Circus," was well applied. The people were fed, then entertained at the theatres and games. In spite of this, however, Rome was filled with paupers to the number of 320,000.

¹Ridpath, *Hist. of the World*, Vol. III, p. 267.

The universal contentment was conducive to literary attainment, so this was the period of the greatest activity in literature and art, under the patronage of Augustus and the encouragement of his adviser, Mæcenas. The Latin language arose to its perfection and found expression in the genius of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. In the midst of the reign of this first emperor (B. C. 31 -A. D. 14), while pagan hearts groped in the night of sin, and when the popular state religion began to move rapidly toward the worship of its sovereign, came the "fullness of the time" and the entrance into human affairs of the Son of God, the Prince of Peace, and World Redeemer.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

B. C. 63—4

JUDEA	B.C.	ROME
Gabinius, governor of Syria, in control of Judea	63	Julius Cæsar (63-44)
Alexander attempts to regain control	60	First Triumvirate (Pompey, Cæsar, Crassus)
Antipater and Hyrcanus II cooperate with Gabinius		Cæsar in Gaul (58-49)
Other attempts of the Hasmoneans with aid of Jews		Crassus in Syria
Crassus strips temple		
Cassius sells Jews into slavery following insurrection		Cassius in charge in Syria
Antipater aids Cæsar in Egypt	48	Rivalry of Pompey and Cæsar Battle of Pharsalus Cæsar, Imperator
Antipater and Hyrcanus in control in Judea		
Herod and Phasaël		
Herod's governorship of Galilee	44	Death of Cæsar
		Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Antony, Lepidus)
Antony confirms the status of Antipater; Judea becomes a province	42	Battle of Philippi
Antigonus uses Parthians to regain Judea	41	Octavian and Antony divide the Roman world
Death of Phasaël and flight of Herod		
Herod, King of the Jews	37	Virgil
Sadducees slain		
Domestic troubles	31	Battle of Actium
Troubles with Antony and Cleopatra		Octavian Emperor, Augustus
Hellenizing Judea	28	Cæsar
Rebuilds temple		Marcus Agrippa
Herod's decline	14	
Domestic troubles		
Birth of Christ	5	
Death of Herod	4	The Augustan Age

CHAPTER VI.
SIDELIGHTS ON JUDAISM

SIDELIGHTS ON JUDAISM

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2. Essenes.
3. Herodians.
4. Zealots.
5. The Scribes: Early Circumstances; Functions; Later History.

II. THE SYNAGOGUE

Origin; Organization; Exercises; Value.

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Origin; History; Nature.

IV. DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS

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2. Rabbinical Theology; *Midrash*; Teachers and Teachings; *Mishna*; *Gemara*; *Talmud*.

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 - b. Greek. General education; language and literature; Greek thought; Greek culture.
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CHAPTER VI

SIDELIGHTS ON JUDAISM

The story of interbiblical history has now been brought down to the birth of Christ and to New Testament times. In tracing the progress of events in Palestine we have indicated, for the most part, only the larger movements back of the political changes that affected the national life and character, with an occasional glance at the social and religious complexion of a particular period. It seems desirable, therefore, to give special consideration to the religious organizations, modes of thought, and doctrinal tenets which are peculiar to the Jews and which throw light upon the gospel message.

First in such treatment would come a sketch of the politico-religious parties which are so prominent in the time of Christ. These include the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Herodians, and Zealots. Mention has been made of the first two because of their influence upon affairs of state in the Maccabean and Roman periods. Their origin and history are so closely related that they are discussed together and their points of contrast set over against each other.

PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES: *Origin*

The earliest appearance of the Pharisees and Sadducees as distinct parties was during the last half of the second century B. C., in the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-106). Josephus holds that they were in existence as early as 145, in the reign of Jonathan (*Ant.* 13: 5: 9). Further effort at dating the exact beginning would be fruitless. They probably represent tendencies that

run far back in Jewish history, particularly to the late exilic times.

The difference in attitude toward Persian influences as reflected in the marriage reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah may be said to point to the fundamental distinction between the parties of later history. The majority of the people followed the reformers in a scrupulous adherence to the ban on intermarriage with the heathen. But some of the leaders (Ez. 9: 1f), and four members of the high priest's family (10: 18), did not acquiesce in this interpretation and application of the law, and openly declared against a policy of exclusiveness. It would hardly be correct, however, to call Nehemiah a Pharisee and Eliashib a Sadducee. It is interesting to note the two aspects, and then to see, later on, how true they are to the party lines that put in their appearance. "In spite of the triumph of Ezra and Nehemiah, there still remained an Israel after the flesh."¹

The next manifestation of the twofold point of view, and a much clearer one, was at the time of the accession to the throne of Syria of Antiochus Epiphanes (175). There was a group of Jews with strong Hellenizing tendencies ready to play into his hands. The group, strange to say, again included members of the priesthood. These adopted Greek names (Jason and Menelaus) and took a positive stand against the loyalist protestations. It is doubtless true that, while advancing personally ambitious schemes, they did not contemplate a break with Judaism, but sought to turn it from its narrowness and make room within its sacred domain for the popular Greek culture. Many young men, following the popular reaction of the Maccabean revolt, joined the Syrian armies or occupied their garrisons in Judea. Apart from this outburst, the Assid-

¹Eaton, in Hastings' D. B.

eans had arisen as a party of extremists to oppose the radicalism of the Hellenizers, and to take a stand on the strict observance of the law. When religious liberty was gained, they withdrew from the larger ambition of Judas Maccabeus, being unconcerned about the political outlook and satisfied with a priest (Alcimus) of Aaronic stock.

History. The open break with the Hasmonean princes came during the reign of Hyrcanus I. The alliance with Gentile nations, the favoring of one pretender to the Syrian throne against another, and the acceptance upon this authority of the high priestly office appeared to *the Pious* as profane acts unbecoming to their conception of the theocracy. Although Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan sanctuary and forced the Idumeans to adopt the Jewish faith, these were political acts accomplished with a view to gaining territory, and so not to be countenanced by this group. The great majority of the people were content with the course of events. The old priestly aristocracy of the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, with its strong Hellenizing motives, was either swept out of existence or became satisfied to adhere to the old Jewish practices as long as the political movements offered the promise of national expansion. The newer aristocracy about the Maccabean court joined with this older body in the support of the Hasmoneans and came to be called *Sadducees* (simply *righteous* men, or followers of Zadok perhaps). The break with the political leaders indicated that the party of *the Pious*, now called *Pharisees* (separatists), would confine their attention and ambition to religious affairs. The fundamental principle actuating them was complete separation from everything non-Jewish and the fullest emphasis upon the law as the particular heritage and expression of Judaism.

The strong feeling between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees became open war under Alexander Jannæus. The reason for this lies probably in the unscrupulous character of the ruler. His hostility to the party was not checked until 50,000 were slain and 800 crucified. The masses of the people now sided with the Pharisees against him. This prompted his advice to his wife, that upon his death she should ally herself with the popular element in the national life. Alexandra's reign was the golden age of Pharisaism. The scribes were given a representation in the Sanhedrin along with the priests and elders. The persecution of the Sadducees was so sharp that, led by Aristobulus, the aggressive aspirant to the government, they obtained possession of the fortresses about the city. It appeared that the Sadducaic party would now hold both the civil and the religious headship in Aristobulus, but the friendship of Antipater the Idumean and the Roman settlement brought the control back to the hands of Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and Aristobulus led to the destruction of many leaders among his party. While the Pharisees regarded this as the work of Providence, they were greatly distressed concerning the trespass of the sacred Temple by the heathen general.

With the submergence of the nation in the Roman provincial life, the political animosity between the parties subsided. The Sadducaic element in the Sanhedrin remained the stronger, but it was not able to bring Herod to justice for overriding authority. The governor of Galilee, as we have seen, slew 45 of their leaders, and later took away their heritage of honor by naming high priests to suit himself. From the outset he favored the Pharisees, but the latter came to hate him as strongly as did the others and instigated their students to cut down the golden eagle from the Temple

gate. Following the removal of Archelaus (A.D. 6), the affairs of Judea were largely reposed in the hands of the Sanhedrin under the presiding high priest who was a Sadducee (Acts 5: 17; Jos. *Ant.*, 20: 9: 1). This gave the party a measure of power, but for popular favor it was forced to defer to Pharisaic principles. It disappeared as a party after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the high priesthood and the Sanhedrin were swept away. Because of their religious emphases, the Pharisees continued with the Rabbis and the schools, opposing the work of Jesus and taking the lead in bringing about his death.

Points of Contrast. "Thus by degrees," says Broadus,² "the parties became sharply defined, compact, antagonizing at all points." For convenience of study their differences are set forth as follows:

PHARISEES

SADDUCEES

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Patriots in Maccabean period. | —Inclined toward Hellenism. |
| 2. Numerous, having the support of the masses. | —Few but influential; members of Sanhedrin and friends of Rome. |
| 3. Traditional in interpretations and practices. | —Rejected traditions and held only to the Pentateuch. |
| 4. Some true doctrines: belief in angels, resurrection. | —Rejected these doctrines; rationalistic. |
| 5. Taught Divine Providence (midway between Sadducees and Essenes). | —Held extreme views of freedom of the will, virtually excluding Providence. |
| 6. "Separatists"—shrank from sinners; many ablutions. | —"Righteous." Simply righteous men; unpretentious. |
| 7. In the New Testament, with some notable exceptions, void of true piety, hypocritical, striving for influence. | —In the New Testament, strong rivals of Pharisees. Influence in high priesthood and Sanhedrin. |

ESSENES

The name *Essene* ("saintly") was given to a sect of the Pharisees because of their exclusive organization and worship, and their practical morality, that is, be-

²Comm. on Matthew, p. 44f.

cause of their *saintliness*. They were about 4,000 in number, living only in villages or rural sections that they might avoid the contamination of the cities, and finding employment in agriculture or other peaceful pursuits. Their chief place of residence seems to have been west of the Dead Sea. They are not mentioned in the gospels or in the Talmud. Philo and Josephus give the fullest treatment of them, the most spiritual of all the groups of New Testament times. In devotion to the law they were Pharisees; in spiritual living they were more like the early Christians. Although they sent offerings to the Temple, they did not make animal sacrifices, "regarding a reverent spirit as the only true sacrifice."³ Their priests seem to have officiated in connection with their common meals. (Cf. Love feasts and the early church). They emphasized the strictest ceremonial purity, but they also practiced the purest ethics. All the writers testify to their self-restraint, faithfulness, love for truth, peace-making, and their disregard of money and worldly pleasures. They held all things in common. They were strong believers in Providence, almost to the extent of being fatalists.

One group of them, at least, did not believe in marriage or the keeping of servants. Their numbers were increased only by the admission of those who resorted to them, weary of the world and admiring the tenets and practices of the sect. Josephus indicates that sometimes they adopted children for purposes of instruction. Certain non-Jewish ideas were found among them, such as the adoration of the sun, calling it *god*, the use of stones and roots as magic remedies for diseases, and the belief in a sort of transmigration of souls. Historically, they appeared along with the Pharisees and Sadducees, about 145 B. C. In 107 a certain Essene, Judas, had a

³Philo, quoted in Hastings' D. B.

school in the Temple where he taught the art of predicting events. Josephus frequently notes fulfillments of their predictions. Herod is said to have favored them because one of their number, Menahem, predicted while Herod was a child that he would one day attain greatness. Some writers, noting the denunciation of the other groups but never the Essenes, have been bold enough to claim that Jesus and John the Baptist were Essenes, while others point out the striking similarity between some of their practices and those of the early church.⁴

HERODIANS

After Archelaus was deposed in A. D. 6 and Judea was placed directly under Roman procurators, there were many reactions to the change upon the part of the several factions among the Jews. The strict Pharisees opposed the plan on the basis that it contradicted their ideal of a theocracy and made Jehovah's people subject to heathen rulers. The secularly disposed, including the Sadducees, saw peace and security to business under the Romans and lent their full support to it. The family of Herod, of course, strongly desired to keep the governorship in Judea just as it was held in Galilee and Iturea, and in this they had many sympathizers. These came to be called Herodians. They gave hearty expression to the hope that some prince of the family might again reclaim all the possessions of Herod the Great, a condition which later obtained for a short time under Agrippa I (Acts 12: 1). The moderate Pharisees joined hands with the Herodians because the Idumean dynasty was less objectionable than Roman governors. The group is mentioned only twice in the gospels, and not at all in Josephus.

⁴Conybeare, in Hastings' D. B.

ZEALOTS

Another party of minor importance was the Zealots, which was also developed from the matter of the succession of Archelaus. These enthusiasts opposed the idea of Roman authority and clamored for the shadow of independence that had been enjoyed. They emphasized the fact that it was a sin for God's people to pay taxes to a foreign power (cf. Matt. 22: 16f). One of the first outbreaks was led by Judas, the Galilean (Jos. *Ant.* 18: 1: 1). Several insurrections among them were put down by the Romans, but the sentiment remained. They degenerated into a band of robbers. It is supposed that Barabbas may have been a member of this group; if so, the popular sympathy for him at the trial of Jesus is thus to be accounted for (Broadus). Being zealous for the national religion and institutions, they often took the law in their own hands, punishing without trial any Jew who seemed to them a violator of the law. Many crimes resulted from this practice. They are rightly charged with bringing on the final struggle with Rome in A.D. 66 and the ruin of the nation.

THE SCRIBES

The scribes are not to be thought of as a party in the sense in which the groups which have been discussed were parties. The name represents a class of religious officials, more or less distinct from the Pharisees and Sadducees, yet members of one or the other of these sects, chiefly the former. The familiar term "scribes and Pharisees" indicates two groups and, at the same time, a unity of motive and outlook that characterizes one body.

Early Circumstances. The office of scribe rose to prominence with Ezra, "the ready scribe in the law of

Moses" (Ezra 7: 6). He is the great type of the early scribe. The scribal function was made possible and inevitable by two considerations: one, the place of the law in the mind of the Jew; and the other, the desire for and necessity of painstaking care in copying the Scriptures. The law was the complete revelation of the divine will and the basis of the covenant between Jehovah and his people. "Love of the law was the essence of piety; conformity to the law was the standard and source of all righteousness."⁵ This feeling prompted the most careful attention to the work of transcribing the sacred text and called forth the office of copyist. In turn, the familiarity with the letter led to exposition of its meaning. Copyists became students, interpreters, and editors, hence the name "lawyers," "doctors," "teachers of the law" that we find in the New Testament. At the outset they were from the priestly class, but pious laymen also came to devote themselves to the study of the law as a profession, so there arose, alongside the priests who were the official interpreters, an independent class of scribes.

Functions. They not only served to keep the Jews of the exilic and early interbiblical periods familiar with the teachings of Moses, but applied the law to the minutest details of everyday life. That their work was well done is seen in the fact that the return to an all-absorbing love for the legal requirements was a characteristic of the Persian period, and a literal, dogmatic legalism was the outstanding hindrance later on to the recognition of the Messiah in Jesus of Nazareth. The scribes are also credited with collecting and elaborating Israel's sacred literature. To them is attributed the drafting of many ordinances bearing upon the arrangement and completion of the Old Testament canon, the

⁵Eaton in Hastings' D. B.

reading of the law on certain days of the week, the fixing of daily prayers, and numerous details concerning sacrifices, foods, and purifications.

Later History. During the Greek period the priestly aristocracy became Hellenistic, while the scribes reacted in their devotion to the law until they became narrow and exclusive, the forerunners of the Assideans and Pharisees. In New Testament times there was not much left of the original function and prestige of the office. As teachers they were called *Rabbi* and were held in high honor by their students. They possessed great influence and distinction, also, in the synagogues and in the Sanhedrin. Their position in later times was more that of honored, retired jurists, whose decisions lacked the freshness of individual interpretation and came to be largely the quotation of sayings of their predecessors. Their preconceived notions of the fulfillment of the law in external affairs and their punctilious regard for the traditions of the elders exposed them, along with the Pharisees generally, to the severe censure of our Lord.

II. THE SYNAGOGUE

Origin. The origin of the synagogue as a place of assembly by Jewish communities for purposes of worship is unknown. Traditionally it dated from the earliest times, and Philo and Josephus believed it went back to Moses (cf. the word of James in Acts 15: 21). It more probably made its appearance during the exile when Jewish worshipers felt keenly the separation from the Temple services. Among those thus torn away from their homes, but brought closer to God and to the remembrance of his gracious dealings in the past through their sufferings, the need was felt for a medium of religious devotion and instruction. In the absence of

the sacrificial rites the exiles magnified the Sabbath and the fast days as well as the privilege and obligation of prayer. After the return home, the new religious life and organization continued under Ezra and his successors, independent of the sacrifices of the restored Temple, and gave rise to synagogues all over the land.

Organization. It appears that almost every village in Palestine had its synagogue. In time, this was largely true also among the Jews of the Dispersion. In Jerusalem there was a large number of synagogues, a Babylonian source saying 394, and a Jerusalem document, 480. There were others for the foreign Jews (Acts 6: 9; 9: 29). The interior arrangement of the building was simple, modeled somewhat after the Temple. "Chief seats," appropriated by the officials and idle rich (James 2: 2f), stretched along the front near the reader's desk, facing the congregation. The institution was maintained by the worshipers in each district or by the contribution of some individual (Luke 7: 5). A body of elders watched over the morals of the congregation and administered discipline. The "ruler" (or rulers, Acts 13: 15) was the managing director of the worship. He maintained order, decided who should conduct the worship, but must himself be invited by others if he wished to take part in the reading of the Scriptures. An attendant looked after the sacred books, the opening and closing of the house, and the instruction of the children. The presence of ten adult male persons was required for holding services, and this number seems to have been the minimum for the organization of a congregation. Women were not counted as members, though zealous attendants everywhere, especially among the Diaspora. They could take part in reading the Sabbath lesson, but they were not permitted to read from the Torah.

Exercises. The service of the synagogue included opening quotations from the Scriptures, prayer, reading of the Law and the Prophets, an expository homily, and the benediction. The quotations were the *Shema*, three passages beginning with this word (Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Num. 15: 37-41). The congregation stood, facing Jerusalem, during the ritual prayer, and recited the amen at the close. The Torah was arranged into one hundred fifty-four reading lessons for a three-year course. An Aramaic translation followed the Law and the Prophets. The number of readings varied from seven on the Sabbath to three on one of the lesser festival days. The sermon was delivered by a scribe or other competent male worshiper. A stranger scribe might be invited to make the discourse.

Value. The synagogues were nurseries of Mosaism. The masses here learned the law and found expression for their religious emotions. They were houses of prayer. The great Temple, with its sacrifices and feast days, stood at the center of the national life, but the synagogue was the heart of the community and home life. Christianity owes not a little to this institution. The lessons from the prophets stimulated the Messianic hope. Christ himself preached freely in the synagogues. The spread of Christianity was augmented by them as the channels of the preaching of the gospel. The sermon is a development of the homily, and the building and form of worship generally passed over into the early church, "the bridge by which Christianity crossed over on its mission of blessing to all families of the earth."⁶

III. THE SANHEDRIN

Origin. The supreme council at Jerusalem had its first historical reference under the name *sanhedrin*

⁶Fairweather, Op. Cit., p. 90.

(Greek, *sunedrion*) in Josephus' account of the act of Gabinius, Roman governor of Syria, when he set aside the Jewish control of Judea (B.C. 57) and divided the country into five districts, each with a sanhedrin at its head (*Ant.* 14: 5: 4). But this is hardly the origin of the term, for the Jews would not have appropriated and popularized a name given under such circumstances. It more probably came from the Septuagint version of the book of Proverbs where the word is used freely (26: 26; 31: 23; etc.) This translation was made about 130 B.C. (cf. "Other books" in prologue to *Sirach*), and the word must have been in common use for some time prior to Roman control in Judea.

History. The organization, apart from its familiar name, must have been the continuation of the great assembly, traditionally known as the Great Synagogue, called together by Ezra and Nehemiah (*Neh.* 8), the body serving as the highest court of justice or supreme council until the time of the Greek domination. The records of Antiochus the Great (about 200 B.C.; cf. *Jos. Ant.* 12: 3: 3) refer to a Jewish assembly under the name *gerousia*. This occurs again in 164 (Antiochus V), so that the institution seems continuous throughout this period. Meanwhile, after 130 B.C., the name *sanhedrin* became popular and entered into the subsequent history of the Jews as that of a most important institution regulating Jewish judicial matters. Its history from the time of John Hyrcanus runs concurrent with the story of the leading parties, Pharisees and Sadducees, as one or the other group held the support of the ruler and carried out his policies. Under the Roman procurators, in the time of Christ, it was the supreme authority of the Jewish people, save in the matter of the death sentence (cf. *Matt.* 5: 22 and references to the trial of Jesus).

Nature. The body consisted of seventy-one members, after the manner of the seventy elders of Moses, which with himself amounted to seventy-one, the president of the Sanhedrin now taking the place of the law-giver. The members were called *elders*, and in the New Testament are often named along with the chief priests and the scribes, since the membership was recruited from these two classes. The council was a court of appeals from the lower courts, but was the sole tribunal in many important cases.

IV. DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS

We have seen how it was that Judaism radiated from three centers during the interbiblical times,—Babylon, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Remembering that the development at Jerusalem was very slow during the earlier periods, we would expect the other two cities to present whatever advancement there is to be found in Jewish ideas. That is just what happened. Babylon witnessed the growth of scribism with its emphasis upon the law, while Alexandria introduced Judaism to Hellenism. The two systems are known as Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy and Rabbinical Theology.

1. *Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy* was the attempt to harmonize divine revelation with current philosophy; the Jewish deference to the revealed will of Jehovah with the Grecian confidence in the reaches of logic and human ingenuity; Moses with Plato. It was inevitable that the two processes of thinking should meet, that this should happen at the Greek city of Alexandria, the home of so many Jews, and that the Jewish writers of the times would wrestle with the problem of adjusting the two systems. The limitations of this treatise permit only the bare mention of a few names and an indication of the trend of their thoughts.

Four principal philosophic conceptions were current, each contending for mastery: Platonism, Aristotelianism, Epicureanism, Stoicism. All arose from the introspection of Socrates' "Know thyself." Aristotle dealt with metaphysics, seeking to combine all human knowledge into a system. Plato was more practical and taught ethics and æsthetics, duty and beauty. The Epicureans and Stoics brought the application to the individual, one encouraging ease and luxury, and the other, discipline and self-control. Both were atheistic, and all the forms opened the door to the rankest skepticism.

According to Prof. A. T. Robertson (class lectures), Aristobulus was known as the father of Jewish Alexandrianism while Philo was its chief exponent. The only statement of the position of Aristobulus available is that found in quotations by Clement and Josephus. He lived during the time of Judas Maccabeus. He taught that the philosophers borrowed from Moses and claimed to point out excerpts from the law in Greek literature. Thus philosophy was a by-product of Mosesism. The author of *The Wisdom of Solomon*, writing during the first century B.C., named the Stoic cardinal virtues and hinted of the Platonic doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul (8: 20; 15: 8) and the eternity of matter (11: 17). Salvation is to be attained through culture. There is frequent use of the term *logos*. He speaks of the Holy Spirit but has no word about the Messiah. The theme of *IV Maccabees* is, "Religious reason is the master passion" (1: 1), which suggests a combination of Stoicism and Judaism. His work is largely the citation of historical illustrations to prove his theme. He hints of atonement and of future rewards and punishment (6: 29; 13: 16; 18: 5).

The outstanding Jewish writer of the Alexandrian school was Philo, a distinguished Jewish scholar and

philosopher, of the time of our Lord. He sought to interpret Moses by Plato, using allegory and spiritualizing. He taught the eternity of matter, the doctrine of intermediate agencies (*æons*), and the idea of the *logos* as a sort of divine manifestation. His relation to Christianity has been greatly exaggerated. Some think he taught Paul, James, and other New Testament writers. The spread of Christianity, on the other hand, probably offset the influence of his teachings.

2. *Rabbinical Theology* is another name for Scribism. In contrast with the Hellenistic theology and in sharp reaction to it, the devotion of the Jews of Babylon and later of Jerusalem emphasized more and more the laws and ordinances as given by Moses and as handed down by tradition, now to be passed on to posterity through the Rabbis. This is the legalism that Jesus came into conflict with (cf. Matt. 5 and 6). It included the following terms and agencies:

a. *Midrash* ("interpretation" or "commentary," 2 Chron. 13: 22). This was the oral law in contradistinction to the written law. Its origin is unknown. The claim that it had the same Mosaic authorship and high antiquity as the Scriptures cannot be established. It probably arose during the exile in connection with the synagogue instruction. The scribes were students and teachers of this tradition just the same as of the written law. Later, that became their principal occupation, the oral law came to be a second law (Mark 7: 8, 13), and the second largely displaced the first in importance. The Pharisees adopted it without question. Josephus quotes one Eleazar as saying, "Whoever takes Scripture in opposition to the oral law has no part in the future world." This helps us to understand Jesus' attitude toward them in Matthew 23. The Sadducees made light of the Midrash and the Pharisaic emphasis on it.

They claimed to believe only in the written law (Pentateuch).

b. *Teachers and Teachings*. Some great teachers of the oral law were Shammai, Hillel, and Gamaliel I. Shammai's school was conservative in adherence to this traditional enlargement of the law, while the school of Hillel was characterized as "pleasing and meek," and instrumental, therefore, in the development of Midrash. Gamaliel, a grandson of Hillel, was the teacher of Paul. Some of the outstanding points in their theology were: salvation by works, hence the importance of ceremonialism; the expectation of a political kingdom and a political Messiah; mechanical repetition of orthodoxy, with emphasis upon their own interpretation. Two divisions in subject matter were recognized, both in the oral and the written law, namely, the *Halakoth*, or legal element, consisting of rules of life, and the *Haggadoth*, or homiletical side, made up of narrative, explanation, and homily.

c. *Mishna* ("teaching") was the name of the first writing of the oral law. The traditions came to be so extensive that there was danger of their being lost. It was completed about 200 A.D. by Jehuda the patriarch.

d. *Gemara* ("supplement" or "completion"), the second writing of the oral code, was made to *complete* the first. The name is often used interchangeably with the word *Talmud* but, properly speaking, the Talmud comprised the two Gemaras. The Palestinian or Jerusalem Gemara was written in Hebrew and West Aramaic. The style is more concise and the discussion less diffuse than in the other. The Babylonian Gemara was written in East Aramaic. Sometimes the text serves as a mere peg on which to hang all sorts of unrelated matter.

e. The *Talmud* embraced the two Gemaras. The object was to interpret the Mishna, tracing its sources,

giving its reasons, and explaining obscure passages and contradictions. Dr. Robertson calls it the Jewish Bible without God, a huge mass of rubbish, the accumulations of a thousand years. It contains absurd tales from the Greek and Persian. Its attitude toward Jesus is one of bitterness.

V. NATIONAL IDEALS

The thought-life of the Jews has been viewed from the standpoint of party affiliation and under the effect of the wave of Greek ideas that swept over the Orient. Because the religious element stood at the hub of the whole circle of Jewish affairs, their political concepts and their scholastic aspirations alike were shaped with reference to their peculiar relationship as a people to the revelation of Jehovah. All that they did or thought or wrote reflected the religious motive. Their one contribution to the world's life is Old Testament religion. The divisions among them were not so much social, economic, industrial, or scholastic, but were due to a different attitude toward sacred institutions and pronouncements in the past, or a difference of opinion as to what would be the divine method in the future. In the light of this fact we may discover four national ideals among the various groups.⁷ Some of these have been treated in these pages, but they are mentioned again in the larger connection. The student of church history will recall an almost exact parallel in the religious outlook in England during the Elizabethan era.

1. *Scribism* magnified the law of Moses. Its concern was not in national glory, save as that glory should be the reflection of a perfect keeping of the ritual. The independence of the state was not the highest ideal. In the Pharisaism of the Roman period there did appear

⁷Grant, *Op. Cit.*, p. 136.

a desire to be freed from Gentile rule and an expectation that the Messiah would accomplish this end, but the inspiration of this desire and hope was the restoration of the theocracy and the fulfillment of the law. Here was the Puritanism of Judea.

2. *Sadduceeism* loved aristocracy and priestcraft. In earlier Roman times it would have included the nobility, the patricians; in England it would have been numbered among the Conformists, the established church, the party of privilege, prestige, and power. Full entrance into the affairs of the nations, the loss of things peculiar to the Jew, and the adoption of the modes of life of the leading peoples, cosmopolitanism at the expense of consecration—such would match the spirit that is represented by this second ideal.

3. *Essenism*, in its aloofness from Temple service and in its devotional practices, was the Quakerism of that age,—and the Communism. Grant says⁸ the “Essenes bore the same relation to the Pharisees that the Quakers bore to the Puritans,” and the analogy may be enlarged to include much of the outlook of the two sects. They were the extreme dissenters. Few in numbers and largely uninfluential in statecraft, they chose the simple and celibate life of protest against the evils of society and the corruption of ecclesiasticism.

4. *Apocalypticism* is “the living link between the prophetic teachings and ideals of the Old Testament and their fulfillment in Christianity.”⁹ It stands at the opposite pole from Scribism. It took the warm message of prophecy and pushed it out of the troublous times of captivity and reconstruction into the glorious days ahead. It brought courage and hope where caution and fear had reigned. Appearing during the last two centuries before the birth of Christ, it enlivened the

⁸Idem, p. 70.

⁹Charles, in Hastings' D. B.

best of current Pharisaism with a genuine devotion and fervor and added a vital chapter to the story of the upward and outward trend of religious thought and expectancy. It had a message for the community and for the individual. It took cognizance of the world powers as they affected Jewish affairs, but it rose to the conception of an undying Kingdom as certain as the faithfulness of the God who promised it.

The chief apocalyptic writings are: *Apocalypse of Baruch* (50-90 A.D.); *Book of Enoch*, in two forms (one 200-64 B.C. and the other about the beginning of the Christian era); *Ascension of Isaiah* (1-100 A.D.); *Book of Jubilees* (40-10 B.C.); *Assumption of Moses* (14-30 A.D.); *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* (130 B.C.-10 A.D. on); *Psalms of Solomon* (70-40 B.C.); and *Sibylline Oracles* (180 B.C.-350 A.D.) Of this list we have had a glimpse of those that appeared prior to the birth of Jesus. They are not Scriptures, but certainly they played a part in turning the thoughts of the Jews toward the Coming One. May we not liken the Apocalyptists to our Pilgrim fathers, pulling away from the confusion and unrest of an old world, and turning their faces outward toward a new day and a new world "wherein dwelleth righteousness."

VI. THE HOPE OF THE MESSIAH

In Post-exilic Literature. The Messianic hope seems to have passed through many periods of fluctuation during the centuries between the last of the prophets and the rise of apocalyptic literature. Drummond says that "between the captivity and the Maccabees" Judaism held to the idea of a "happy future in which the presence of God would be more manifest, but no specific Messiah."¹⁰ It is true that in the Apocrypha

¹⁰Quoted by Fairweather in Hastings' D. B.

there is very little emphasis upon a personal leader in this future idealism. *Baruch* tells of the destruction of the enemies of the Jews and the return to prosperous times of a united people, but there is no mediator. *Tobit* implies, not vengeance on the nations, but their conversion to the religion of Jehovah. *Sirach* sees the glorious day ahead and the homecoming of scattered Jews, but no personal Messiah. There are a few vague passages in other books of the period, but on the whole, they are disappointing and lacking in the positive note. One is forced to the conclusion that when these books were written there was among the masses of the Jews little or no living faith in the personal Messiah. With the appearance of the apocalyptic writings, however, there is a decided revival of the Messianic doctrine along with all the eschatological conceptions. Inspired perhaps by the visions and imagery of the books of Daniel and Ezekiel, the creators of this literature point to a renewal of the hope of the Messiah with great clearness and appeal.

Substance of the Hope. The component parts of the picture of the unique and ideal character of the Anointed One differed in the various sections of the Jewish world, but many ideas can be definitely enumerated as contributing to the description of this person and his accomplishments. In the light of the New Testament references, he was to be a descendant of David; the ideal king in perfect accord with the will of God; his coming would be unexpected and mysterious; he would be a worker of miracles; a great prophet who would have another prophet associated with him as forerunner; the revealer of truths that men needed to know; and the bearer of remission of sins. From the Old Testament point of view, there would be the restoration of the national life and influence, with all the nations sharing in the eternal blessings of the worship

of the true God. Deliverance from persecution and the resurrection of the dead were prominently presented. Then the Apocalyptists added other features, such as the appearance of Elijah; mystical numbers expressive of the main events,—a thousand years, seven weeks, ten generations; resurrection of the *just*; a millenium. We also find here, in addition to these peculiar additions to prophecy, a rather wholesome emphasis upon the spirituality of the king's reign, his supernatural character and sinlessness, and his victory by the word of his mouth and not by force of arms. These points seem to have been forgotten at the time of Christ's appearance. On the whole, the trend among the contributors of this literature may be said to be from the national and earthly to the individual and heavenly aspects of future glory.

Souls in Waiting. Some features of this outlined personality were at the center of the faith of the masses of the people as the hands of the clock of destiny moved toward the fateful hour. There was a general hope of national salvation through divine interference, and there was also a personal sense of a Coming One who should be God's power in spiritual forgiveness for the individual and for ushering in peace and righteousness among the nations. Gradually the picture was drawn, and only by degrees were the minds of men made ready to appreciate the full likeness of the Master. But some were ready. In the virgin mother, in the parents of the forerunner, and in the group that gathered around the cradle of the infant whose coming brought the awakening for which the world was weary, there is disclosed the fairest type of the religion of Judaism. Simeon and Anna and the simple shepherds of the plains were looking for the redemption of Israel, and while they looked, lo *He came!*

VII. THE WORLD INTO WHICH JESUS WAS BORN

In the providence of God, Jesus was born in the Roman Empire, under a government which embodied and signalized the acme of political power. It so happened that the eastern half of this Roman world had felt the magic touch of a Greek conqueror,—not merely the genius of a great personality, but rather the genius of the Greek spirit. Again, the particular spot that gave to the world its Saviour was Palestine, the home of the Jew. Thus, the universal Christ was born at the cross-roads of the world. The inscription on his cross, written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, was significant of the actual situation that pertained as well as prophetic of the influence of humanity's priest-king—a Jew by birth, bearing a Greek name, and dying on a Roman cross.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ERA

The date of the birth of Jesus stands at the turn of the world's chronology. In Roman history it marked, approximately, the center of the reign of Augustus Cæsar (B.C. 31-A.D. 14), and the center of Roman control of Jewish affairs (B.C. 63, A.D. 70); in the bounds of a still wider circle, from Alexander the Great to Constantine, the first Christian emperor (B.C. 334-A.D. 323), it related itself to more great movements of thought and emotion than can be found in any other similar period of the world's life. We are indebted to Angus (*Environment of Early Christianity*) for his masterly interpretation of those lines of activity that radiate from the Bethlehem center into every part of, and touch every phase of life in, the Greco-Roman world. In the light of his treatment we may list certain marked characteristics of the era and picture their contribution to the times of Jesus.¹¹

¹¹Angus, Op. Cit., pp. 9-29.

1. *A Period of Rapid Change.* This was both natural and necessary in the growth of the city-state into an empire. And as one nation after another yielded to the dictates of the tribune or a consular army, that nation would pass through a period of transformation and adjustment to meet the new demands. Old systems of government, old cities, old social customs, old faiths were all undergoing change. The monotony of Oriental life was shaken into an alertness and activity that would not settle back to a dead level until the days of medievalism.

2. *A Variegated Social Order.* The literature of the empire is replete with the story of the extremes of life. Vivid contrasts of luxury and poverty, of learning and folly, of exalted citizenship and captive slavery, of purity of faith and rank superstition fill the pages of the poets, historians, and biographers. It has been said that one could make almost any kind of rash, doubtful, or contradictory statement about Roman life at this time and support it by abundant authority. The mixture of races, of standards of culture, of moral ideals and religious beliefs presents the student of the times with a babel of voices, each claiming a hearing and each offering some support to its appeal.

3. *A Highly Developed Civilization.* Angus happily applies the term "modernness" to his description of the era. In facilities of trade, of communication, and of travel the empire did indeed reveal a systematic organization comparable only to our present-day life. Amusements were plentiful and of the type to appeal strongly to the restless youth of the time. Home comforts and conveniences, public libraries, entrance of women into public life, gambling, even comic artists and companionate marriages—these, with many other

interesting details, complete a picture of our modern life set in Roman colors of the first century.

4. *Rise of the Common People.* Another manifestation of the spirit of the twentieth century was the fact that the *Romanus populus* stood at the center of thought and activity. Much of the culture of the West was in imitation of the heyday of Hellenism. Though superficial, it found a vital place in the uplift of Roman society. Philosophy, art, education, and religion were popularized. Even in politics the people were to be reckoned with. Many problems of state had to be solved in the light of the demands of a people who must be "fed, petted, and amused." On the other hand, the recognition of the rights and privileges of the common people was a definite contribution to the progress of the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man.

5. *Individualism.* The close of the Old Testament marks the development of the doctrine of individualism among the Jews. From the time of Aristotle the place of the individual was secure in the thought of the Greeks. The days of Pompey, Sulla, and Marius pointed out a new pathway in Roman affairs. Even the Oriental found a larger freedom in the break up of caste and group consciousness. The selfishness that came in with the new emphasis proved a blight to the finest qualities of patriotic citizenship, but on the other hand, the recognition of the worth and responsibility of the individual soul was of the greatest importance in the preparation for Christianity.

6. *Unification.* Over against this individualism stood a strong cosmopolitanism. The molding of diverse elements into a composite national life with a mission to the entire world is perhaps the chief glory of Rome. The empire was the melting pot of the old world. Four great racial classes entered into the amal-

gamation,—the Oriental, the Jew, the Greek, the Latin. The Roman citizen was the resultant of these vital contacts and contributions. Aside from the national constituents of the empire the student must reckon with other factors of universalism, such as the extent and influence of slavery, the unifying effect of commerce, the wholesome restraint of popular education, the Alexandrian policy of civil regard for the conquered, the Roman practice of consolidation, and lastly, the merging of heterogeneous religious ideas toward a universal religion.

NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

It is customary to think of a threefold preparation of the gospel age, and this trinity of ideas is associated with the three great nationalities mentioned,—the Roman, the Greek, and the Jewish. In the providential world preparedness the Roman contribution was law and government, the Grecian offering was culture and language, and the Jewish genius for religion supplied the capstone in the prophetic “stone which the builders rejected” and which became “the head of the corner.” All other elements in Roman life may be related to one or the other of these factors. We may summarize the world into which Jesus was born as a Roman world, a Greek world, and a Jewish world.

1. *It Was a Roman World.* We have traced the steps by which it became such. First in Italy, then in the West, and finally in the East the victorious legions established the authority of the Roman eagle. Julius Cæsar added Western Europe to the realm and yielded the control to Augustus Cæsar, the first emperor. The Roman contribution to the existing order of society and to Christianity included government, both imperial and provincial, with its means of protection, communication,

taxation, and peace; the economic life, with its trade, wealth, and slavery; the social status, involving luxury and idleness, city life and amusements, the position of woman, and the attitude toward marriage and divorce; and much of the moral condition in the empire, certainly the moral life of Rome and its environs. We now give some consideration to these elements that relate themselves to the matter of political control.

a. The government of the empire rested upon the emperor and the senate. The former ruled with almost absolute power, while the latter was more or less of a figurehead. The offices of tribune and consul had lost their glory since the days of the Republic. The one care of the emperor was to keep the favor of the populace and of the army, and Augustus enjoyed both of these prerequisites to a successful administration. In the provinces there was a large amount of self-government. The laws and customs of the subject peoples were recognized, and sometimes the native rulers were allowed to continue in that capacity. The two methods are exemplified in Judea under Herod and under Pilate, the former as a "king" paying tribute, and the latter as a "governor" appointed by Rome. So long as this official kept his province under subjection and collected the taxes, little trouble or molestation was to be expected from headquarters. Within the province a city might have the rating of a colony, as Cæsarea or Philippi, or "free city," as Samaria. Perhaps these terms and privileges were relics of the old city-state.

In the control of a distant province, besides the power entrusted to the governor (procurator or proconsul), one must bear in mind the ready and sometimes drastic use of taxation, the garrison with its guard of soldiers, the open means for communication concerning any disturbance, and the state-controlled roads for transportation of the army to the scene of

outbreak. A careful census or enrollment of the people was made as a basis of assessment. The customs levied on products and trades were collected by the natives of the province. In Judea these officers were known as *publicans* (collectors) and were much despised both because of their exacting methods and because they were in the employ of an alien people.

The army was the power behind everything Roman. The soldier was recognized as a social class and military affairs held prominent place in all circles. In Jerusalem the garrison held a commanding view of the city and of the Temple court. To the proud Jew it was a constant reminder of foreign control and, therefore, of lost independence. As a consequence, there were many uprisings in Palestine and among the Jews of the Diaspora. The New Testament account draws upon many incidents in which the soldiers or the centurion took part, both in the life of Jesus and in the experiences of Paul.

The effect of Rome's military policy and machinery at this time was tranquility throughout the land. Consolidation and organization led to peace and security. "The justly celebrated Roman peace was the first world-peace, lasting more than two hundred years."¹² The temple of Janus was closed three times during the reign of Augustus, and a monument commemorating this condition was erected in Rome in B.C. 13. An impetus was thus given to agriculture and commerce and to intellectual and moral life. A positive stabilizing era of calm greeted the Prince of Peace and presaged that longed-for event when "nations shall learn war no more."

b. Economic life, prior to the era of peace, suffered much from the many wars, both of conquest and of re-

¹²Angus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 203.

bellion. The subject nation lost its man-power in the conflict, destroyed its crops or revenues to prevent the foraging of the legions or spent them in supplying its own forces, then faced the demand of the conqueror for large booty. Often the soldiers returned home from the long camp life ill-disposed to work and dissatisfied with the quiet pursuit of industry. Indolence was thus the natural reaction of the times. War also brought the vast resources of the East into the empire. Many became immensely wealthy and wealth induced luxury and idleness. It was the nature of the Greeks and Romans to despise manual labor. The many slaves of war supplied cheap labor, the landlords moved into the city for a life of ease, and agriculture rapidly degenerated.

In the times of reconstruction, however, there was a decided impetus to business. Every city had its stores, and there was buying and selling of all commodities. The importation of foreign goods into Rome, under the rights of free trade, found employment for thousands of workers. An imperial currency expedited this traffic. Banking business was highly developed. Besides slave labor there was a large body of freemen. At first extreme poverty prevailed among this class because of the competition with slave labor. Many trades and professions known today were found in the empire. Law, medicine, teaching, the arts, surgery, and dentistry were practiced on an important scale. Great trade guilds, such as of weavers, shoemakers, jewelers, musicians, and the like, were organized, not for high wages and shorter hours, but for social and religious uplift. It is interesting to think that Paul's trade may have introduced him to various groups through the medium of this guild brotherhood.

The life of ease encouraged travel, whether for business, education, or pleasure. The highways were well

policed, making travel safe. Piracy had been driven from the Mediterranean, and lighthouses and improved harbors offered direction and convenience to the ships that ranged from Egypt to Italy and from Gibraltar to the Black Sea.

Judea was not in the path of this extensive commerce though Jewish merchants dwelt in every land. The old occupations of sheep-raising, farming, and fishing continued to engage the attention of her people. The trade routes into the East lay along her borders but made slight impression upon her quiet, pastoral scenes. There was much poverty and little of great wealth among her citizens. The New Testament churches will concern themselves about the poor of Jerusalem, and the munificence of a Joseph of Arimathea and the sordidness of a rich young ruler will become a part of the gospel story.

c. The social and moral life of the Roman world was an apt expression of the military and economic background. War destroyed the better element of the great middle class and left the extremes of wealth and poverty; slavery released the masses for an easy life in the city and created a social problem of immense proportions; great wealth led to unbounded luxury and extravagant living. Much money was wasted on banquets and amusements. The gladiatorial games furnished the occasion for some of the greatest social evils the world has ever seen. "While Rome has everywhere left witnesses of the blessings she conferred on the world, the ruins of her amphitheatres . . . rise up in judgment against her. By a terrible irony her greatest material monument extant is the Colosseum."¹³

Roman regard for women and children was better than the Greek but far inferior to that of the Jew. At

¹³Angus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 42.

its lowest estate marriage was a mere civil contract and divorce was very common. Infanticide was a general practice. The grossest forms of vice were prevalent and seem to have been accepted without protest by many of the best known writers of the day. Suicide was frequent and unprotested. But not all of this array of unmitigated evil passed unchallenged. There was a bright side. Many spoke out against slavery, against the gladiatorial horrors, also against domestic vice. There were many noble women in Roman society, mutual love was not unknown, and many homes were made happy in the voices of children. Attention was given to charitable institutions and to the education of the poor. The influence of moral philosophy and of the Jewish religion was felt here and there, but it was not until the coming of Christianity that women and children came into their rightful place.

2. *It was a Greek World.* The Greek contribution to the world of Jesus was as distinct as that of Rome. Much of it became Roman first, and then, adapted to the mold of the Latin mind and empowered with the sanction and enforcement of the state, it swept out into the larger currents of civilization to influence the world. This was true of political and social ideals that were wrought out by the Greek genius in conflict with the Orient. The city-state was a protest against eastern despotism on the one hand, and against the rising tide of unstabilized individualism on the other—a noble experiment in democracy. The Alexandrian dream of empire and his policy of reconciliation toward subject nations were alike accepted by Rome and put into effect. In education as well, the Grecian standard reached the ends of the earth by means of the Roman sword. It has been well said that Greece rendered signal service to the ancient and the modern world by educating her

conquerors, Macedonia and Rome. "Rome came to Greece a barbaric conquering people," says Angus, "but went home with an endowment of culture, refinement, and humanity."¹⁴

But Greece also had a direct cultural influence upon the eastern half of the Empire, including the land of the Jews. Hellenism permeated the intellectual life of the age. We do not know the New Testament world, the world of Jesus, unless we place ourselves in the channel of this irresistible floodtide of thought and freedom and love of the beautiful that surged out from the Ægean shores. With her general educational facilities, her language and literature, her philosophic conceptions, and wide cultural idealism, Greece made ready for the flaming evangels of the truth as it is revealed in him who said, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me."

a. Due to this relationship of Greece to the Empire, education was general at the time of the birth of Jesus. Students of the history of popular educational movements remind us that not until the beginning of the eighteenth century was there such a widespread interest and activity in the matters of books and teachers and teaching. The common people knew how to write. With the rapid development of the use of papyrus and parchment as writing materials, books became cheap and plentiful. The profession of teaching was honorable and remunerative. Book-selling was an important means of livelihood. There were private tutors besides the large number of Greek slaves who became instructors in the homes of well-to-do Romans. The *pedagogos* was an attendant who accompanied the child to and from school and acted as a sort of guardian in its rearing. In the light of Greek proficiency we may readily

¹⁴Op. Cit., p. 172.

discern that such subjects as rhetoric, mathematics, medicine, geography, and botany were taught. Oratory and law were associated with instruction in rhetoric. There were universities at Athens, Rhodes, Tarsus, Alexandria, and probably other cities. The last named possessed a world-famed library and museum as well. Cicero and Horace studied in these schools, and Augustus gave encouragement to the development of the system of public libraries.

b. The basis of the educational impetus, of course, was the Greek culture, and this was expressed through a well developed language and an immortal literature. The speech of the army of Alexander became the literary and spoken language of most of the Empire. Its place was won because of its expressiveness, its adaptability to philosophic and theological concepts, and its fine shades of meaning that still appeal to the student of the New Testament. Through it there opened avenues of approach to a world of literature that is amazing in its form and scope, running back through scientific treatises, histories, philosophic pronouncements, and through the age of drama to the great epics of Homer.

c. "The most perennial contribution of Greece to all time is Greek thought."¹⁵ From the time of Thales (600 B. C.) to that of Plato and Aristotle (c. 350), and then in the break-up and decline that lasted to Neo-Platonism (Plotinus, 200 B. C.), the Greek mind dealt with every conceivable intellectual problem, and encompassed in its range the whole universe in the attempt to find the explanation of things as they are. First on the natural plane, then in the human realm, and finally as it scaled the heights of reasoning up to the Infinite Mind, philosophy brought human wisdom face

¹⁵Angus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 174.

to face with the Divine and left it there to receive its authoritative ultimatum from the Word who was "with God" and who "was God."

It is beyond the scope of this study to enter fully into the contributions of the various thinkers and schools of thought whose influences were felt in the world's life at this time. Our concern is that they did have an influence, that they were, whether consciously or otherwise, "feeling after God if haply he may be found," that they were reaching many of the truths that have come to us through revelation, and that in this way they were forerunners of the Messiah, preparing men to "think thoughts after God." The highest reaches of thought were attained by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; their contentions are briefly set forth.

Socrates denied the conclusion of his predecessors, the Sophists, that there is no objective, universal truth. He made this Truth and Right the standard of conduct. He believed he possessed a *dæmon*, a divine voice, calling him from the evil to the good. In his motto, "Know thyself," he revealed the fact that the highest mission for man is self-realization, learning how to live. He brought himself to a sense of the need of the Incarnation. Plato developed a theory of Ideas which served to set spiritual realm over against the sensual, the soul from the body, the permanent from the transient. The ultimate end of this conception was to make the soul of man akin to the Divine, to claim that as such it must be immortal, and to that end it must put under subjection the baser elements of human nature. He entered the kingdom of the spirit and by that fact qualified as the "schoolmaster of many of the Christian Fathers."¹⁶ Aristotle rose to the conception of monotheism, though God, according to his idea, was left iso-

¹⁶Angus, Op. Cit., p. 183.

lated above the reach of human experience. Lacking in the idealism of Plato, he yet called men to practical morality and to the happiness to be found in the everyday task. Stoicism followed this great trio of thinkers and gave to the world a sense of endurance and self-control that had its message for the struggling, suffering Christian. Other phases and divisions of thought followed in rapid succession, but the high-tide of human aspiration and endeavor in intellectual pursuits, apart from divine illumination, had been reached. Disciples of the great philosophers made many attempts to apply the teachings to various lines of human conduct, but none attained to that degree of finality that would satisfy the needs of men. Hearts were hungry for certainty, for contentment, and for the Fatherhood of God.

d. But Greek thought set the house in order for the choice Guest. To the Greeks had been entrusted the "secular education" of the ancient world for Christianity. When we recall how readily the gospel found acceptance in the Hellenized part of the Empire and how slowly that message entered into Oriental systems, we have a new appreciation of the Greek contribution. Her variegated character and life, her passion for the beautiful, her aspiration for self-betterment, love of freedom, search after truth, precision of thought and expression, and her systematic organization of the factors of experience, whether in the political or ethical, the social or the intellectual realm, made the land of Greece a vital part of the providential preparation of the world for the coming of Jesus Christ.

3. *It was a Jewish World.* We admire the Roman for his ability to organize and to govern; we honor the Greek for his power to distinguish things that differ and to give expression to that difference; we revere the Jew for his fundamental hold on God and for the

hope with which he faced the future. If Rome stands for the *will* of the Empire, and Athens for its *intellect*, then Jerusalem is its *heart*. The state, the school, and the church are needed to make the social order secure, intelligent, and devout; the failure of the last factor would mean justice without mercy and truth without grace. The Coming One would be "grace *and* truth," and the one who would fulfil the law. Before considering the peculiar contribution of the Jewish race to the times, it seems well to glance at the religious ideas current in the Greco-Roman world.

The old national faiths of Greece and Rome were similar in character, both finding place for many gods, those of Greece being personifications of natural phenomena, while the Roman gods represented the activities of men, as farmers, warriors, and the like. Besides these two systems, many other national deities and religions were countenanced by the Empire. So long as these did not interfere with the idea of the authority and glory of the Roman State they were tolerated. The Roman religion as the official form of worship in the Empire was, therefore, primarily the expression of political power, a department of state. There was no personal relationship between the worshiper and the deity. The household gods, symbols of family life, supplied something of this need for religious expression.

The rapid changes that occurred in connection with the development of the Empire broke up much of the earlier influence of both the Greek and the Roman faiths. The philosophic conceptions that swept over the land turned the cultural people rationalistic and largely atheistic. The migrations of people brought change of scenes, a lost interest in local deities, and contact with the gods of the new home. Out of this

came unrest, skepticism, and despair. Many turned to Stoicism with its patient endurance; others yielded to the hopelessness of the Epicurean appeal. Only the masses kept up the ritual of the old order, and this in a perfunctory way and without spiritual benefit. Augustus had sought to revive Roman religion in the early part of his reign, but this was accomplished with political motive. One of the peculiar phases of this mechanical spur to religion was emperor worship. The idea was a development from the Grecian conception of their gods as superior human beings, and was also found in Egypt and the East. It was now pressed upon the provinces in the characteristic display of Roman power and, apparently, with some serious intent of making it a universal religion.

But there was a higher, more hopeful aspect of the religious instinct among many peoples. Roman writers, particularly Virgil in his *Æneid*, have given expression to the unanswered longings that filled the hearts of men as they sought to find that satisfaction that can be attained only in a sense of fellowship with the Divine. For one thing, many of the philosophers had turned preacher. The best things of the moral emphasis of the times were held up as qualities of the ideal life. While the fundamental conception of personal salvation from sin was lacking, there was much of real good in this popular preaching. Men like Plutarch, Seneca, and Epictetus are listed among these spiritual directors who advised concerning life, death, and immortality. Men were looking within, and they were seeking to meet the demand for a better life that comes from an awakening conscience. Credit must be given the eastern religions for much of this change. They made great appeal. Coming with the sheer force of large numbers of slaves and traders that pushed westward; bringing a new spirit of democracy and brother-

hood; stressing the emotional side of life; claiming the authority of direct revelation; and making bold to expect universal acceptance,—these warm evangels of spiritual life literally swept the empire out of its lethargy and ushered in a new day of religious passion and enthusiasm.

It is Angus who suggests¹⁷ that the Greek interest in man and the Hebrew interest in God had met for a “simultaneous mission” in the Roman world. There were indeed new and higher ideas of both taking root in the inquiring minds. God was one with a providential concern for man; and man was made in the image of God, and destined to live eternally in the presence of his Creator. Such attitudes produced marvelous corrections in the practical living of the times. There came to be a new importance attached to moral conduct, a desire for authoritative utterance concerning eternal verities, a regard for self-repression, for prayer, and for the ministry of suffering, and finally, an awakening sense of sin, a need of personal salvation, and an expectancy that soon God would speak or so move among men as to bring a divine ministry to human weakness and failure.

The main contributor to this aspiration that had taken hold of the hearts of men throughout the empire was Judaism, with its loyal adherents now scattered abroad in the provinces and making their imprint upon all the cities in the land. What, in a word, were the elements of Jewish faith and life that lent themselves to this purpose and to this achievement?

a. The first and greatest contribution of Judaism to the world of Christianity was *the Jew* himself. Widely scattered throughout the empire, taking part in its economic, social, and religious life, and occasionally in its political organization, strangely isolated, strongly

¹⁷Op. Cit., p. 94.

hated, but subtly influential, the Jew called for explanation. To account for him was to account for his faith, his history, and so, his God. His religion was his chief characteristic, and his religion was the bed-rock foundation for the superstructure of the gospel of the Son of God now to be reared along the eastern frontier of the empire. The Jew was the mediator between the East and the West, between the Oriental dreamer and the Roman builder. His place in the world invited the acceptance of his own strange past in the hands of God, and his spirit inspired confidence in a future from which that God would not hold aloof.

b. The medium of Judaism's gift to the Roman world was twofold,—the synagogue and the Septuagint version of the Scriptures. To the heathen environment the synagogue was a school of religion and morals. Located in almost every city these institutions not only kept alive the Jewish faith and hope, but offered constant appeal to the Gentile world to learn concerning the God of the Jew. The Jews of the Diaspora particularly had caught the spirit of Isaiah and many of the later prophets in the conviction that Jerusalem would become the spiritual capital of the earth, and nations would turn to her for a knowledge of God's law. They were missionaries, and it would appear that conversions to their system were frequent. But apart from the number of those who were proselytes, openly identifying themselves with Judaism, the influence of the synagogue upon those known as "God-fearers" (Acts 10: 16) was tremendous. Many of the finer spiritual elements of worship, lacking in the Greek and Roman cults, and yet strongly wished for by the Gentile population, were offered through the services of the Jewish congregation and found ready acceptance there.

c. The Septuagint represents the combined impact of Judaism and Hellenism upon the empire. The story of its origin has been told. This translation of the Scriptures revealed the heart of the Old Testament religion to the Greek world as a Hebrew Bible could never have done. The Greeks read and were convinced. It broke down the odium with which the Jewish race was regarded. It brought a sense of common ground between the Jew and the Greek. Perhaps the most apt illustration of this in the English speaking world is the King James Version and its effect upon England and America. It must be recalled in this connection that not only was the Jew despised by the Greek, but Palestinian Judaism, in turn, was extremely suspicious of Hellenism. The LXX paved the way for compromise and peace. The craving for an authoritative utterance that had come to fill restive spirits was met in a revelation from God in language that could be understood. Moreover, this became the Bible of early Christianity, the "parchment" of Paul, the missionary of the Gentiles.

d. The message of the Jew to the age may be briefly summed up. It was a heartening message about God, the one true God, his Fatherhood, his protecting care and love for his own. It was a message of fellowship between the human and the Divine. The lessons from the Law and the Prophets and the practice of prayer in the synagogue meant communication from God and communion with God. Judaism stabilized character by supplying a motive for true living. It offered a wholesome, invigorating morality as the open door to a larger life. It brought hope and assurance, and turned the thought of men to a future golden age and to a kingdom "wherein dwelleth righteousness and joy and peace."

Conclusion. Into this Roman world of power, tempered with the Greek learning, and inspired by Jewish faith, came Jesus of Nazareth, the universal Christ. At the heart of his mission was the Cross, and over that Cross was his title in the languages of the peoples whom God had made ready. Then, as Christianity's chief exponent and evangel, the one destined to bring the message of that Cross to the attention of the empire as no one else, came Paul—a Jew by birth, a Greek by training, and by the hand of destiny, a Roman citizen.

APPENDIX

PERSIAN KINGS¹

Cyrus	B.C.	536-529
Cambyzes	B.C.	529-522
Pseudo-Smerdis	B.C.	522
Darius Hystaspis	B.C.	522-486
Xerxes	B.C.	486-465
Artaxerxes Longimanus	B.C.	465-425
Xerxes II	B.C.	425
Darius Nothus	B.C.	425-405
Artaxerxes Mnemon	B.C.	405-359
Ochus	B.C.	359-338
Arses	B.C.	338-336
Darius	B.C.	336-331

PTOLEMAIC KINGS

Soter	B.C.	323-285
Philadelphus	B.C.	285-247
Euergetes I	B.C.	247-222
Philopator	B.C.	222-205
Epiphanes	B.C.	205-181
Philometer	B.C.	181-146
Euergetes II (joint reign, 170-146)	B.C.	170-116
Lathyrus	B.C.	116-107
Alexander and Cleopatra	B.C.	170- 80
Auletes	B.C.	80- 51
Dionysius and Cleopatra	B.C.	51- 30

SELEUCID KINGS

Seleucus Nicator	B.C.	312-280
Antiochus Soter	B.C.	280-261
Antiochus Theos	B.C.	261-246
Seleucus Gallinicus	B.C.	246-226
Seleucus Ceraunus	B.C.	226-223
Antiochus the Great	B.C.	223-187
Seleucus Philopator	B.C.	187-175
Antiochus Epiphanes	B.C.	175-164

¹These lists, with slight changes, have been taken from Robertson's *Syllabus for N. T. Study*.

Antiochus Eupator	B.C. 164-162
Demetrius Soter	B.C. 162-150
Alexander Balas	B.C. 150-145
Demetrius Nicator (first reign)	B.C. 145-138
Antiochus Sidetes VI (Tryphon, guardian).....	B.C. 138-128
Demetrius Nicator (second reign)	B.C. 128-125
Seleucus V	B.C. 125
Antiochus Grypus	B.C. 125-113
Antiochus Cyzicenus	B.C. 113- 95
Antiochus Eusebes	B.C. 95- 83
Tigranes	B.C. 83- 69

JEWISH HIGH PRIESTS

For a list of high priests from Aaron to the Captivity (Seraiah), see 1 Ch. 6: 4-14 (23 names), and Ezra 7: 1-5 (similar list of 16 names omitting repetition of the same name).

Seraiah, high priest at the time of the capture of Jerusalem.

Jehozadak, who went into captivity (1 Ch. 6: 15).

Jeshua (or Joshua), high priest with Zerubbabel (Ezra 3: 2; Hag. 1: 1, etc.)

Jehoiakim (Neh. 12: 10).

Eliashib (Neh. 3: 1; etc.)

Joiada, whose son married the daughter of Sanballat (Neh. 13: 28f).

Jonathan (or Johanan, Neh. 12: 22), 405-359, who murdered his brother Jesus in the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* 11: 7: 1).

Jaddua, 359-331, who received Alexander the Great at Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* 11: 8: 5).

Onias I, B.C. 331-299.

Simon I (the Just), B.C. 299-287.

Eleazar, B.C. 287-266.

Manasseh, B.C. 266-240.

Onias II, B.C. 240-227.

Simon II, B.C. 226-198.

Onias III, B.C. 198-175.

Jason, B.C. 175-172.

Menelaus, B.C. 172-162.

Alcimus, B.C. 162-160.

Vacant seven years; then the Maccabees, beginning with Jonathan.

REFERENCES TO CHRIST IN THE WORKS OF JOSEPHUS

The principal passage (*Ant.* 18: 3: 3) is as follows: "Now there lived about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was (the) Christ. And when Pilate, on the indictment of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the Cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."

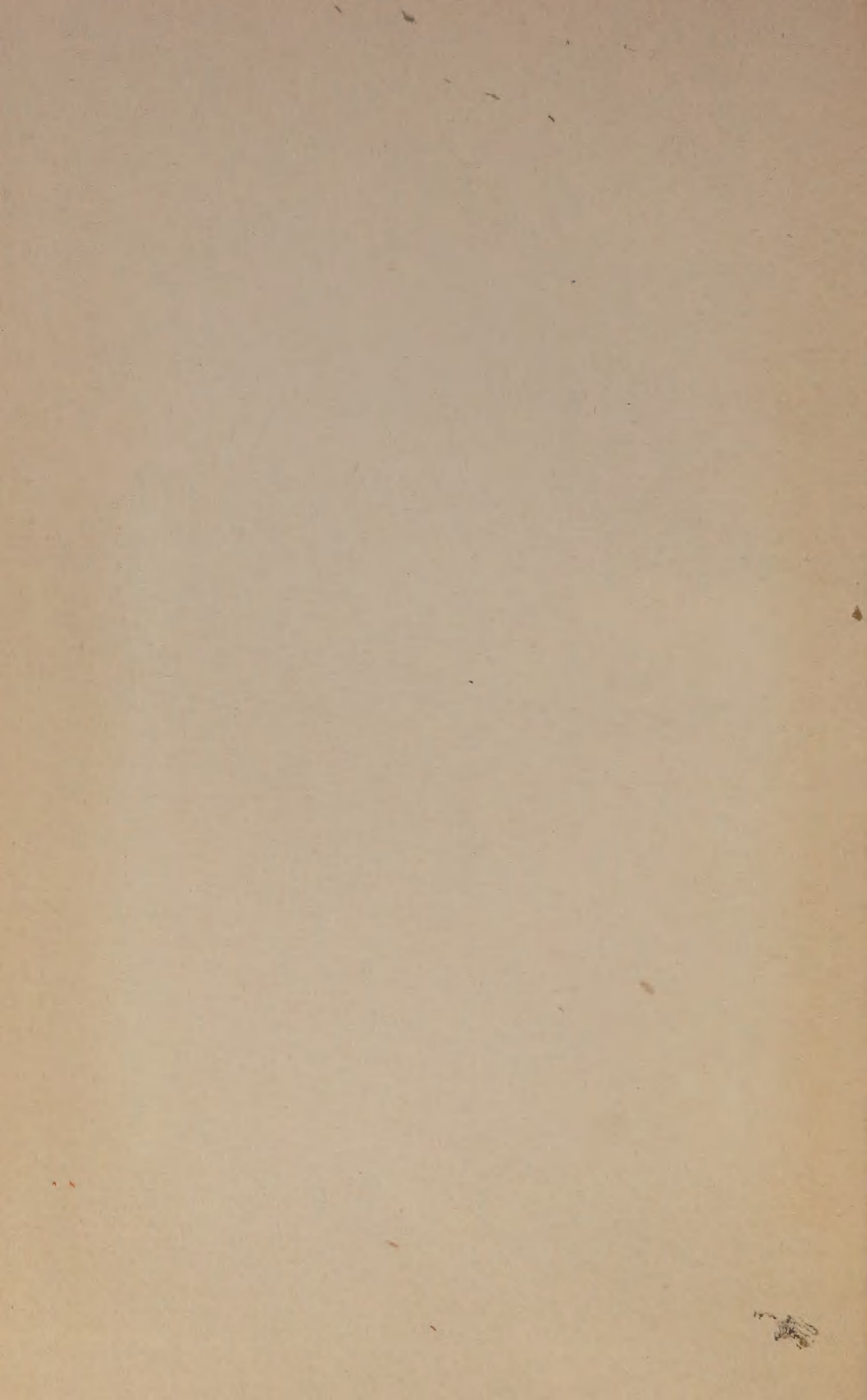
The clear statement in this quotation would indicate that Josephus believed Jesus to be the Messiah. Doubt arises, however, as to the authenticity of the paragraph. Thackery (Hastings' D.B.) gives us the attitude of many of the critics in the following comment: "The passage stood in the text of Josephus in the fourth century, and from that time down to the sixteenth century its genuineness was undoubted. Its existence contributed largely to the high esteem in which Josephus was held by the fathers. During the last three hundred years a vast amount of literature has been written on the question of its authenticity. Very few critics at the present day accept the passage as it stands as

from the pen of Josephus; but there is a division of opinion as to whether the whole is an interpolation or whether Josephus did make a brief statement about Jesus Christ which was afterwards augmented by a Christian hand." Thackery concludes, from both the external and internal evidence, that the passage is spurious and that it was introduced into the text by a Christian reader toward the end of the third century, between the time of Origin and that of Eusebius. It is doubtless true, however, that this writer has made too bold a claim. Several modern scholars take the view that the quotation is authentic, but that Josephus was recording, not his own conviction, but the current opinion concerning Jesus of Nazareth.

The handling of Messianic references in the prophets by the Jewish historian is quite interesting. Two cases may be cited. In *Wars* (6: 5: 4) he applies the following quotation to Vespasian,—“About that time, one from their country shall become governor of the habitable earth” (cf. Mic. 5: 2; Matt. 2: 5f). He calls it an “ambiguous oracle” and claims that it was the reason for the war with Rome. He adds, “Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea.” When he discusses Daniel’s interpretation of the dream concerning the stone cut out of the mountain (Dan. 2: 45), he pauses to explain to his readers that he is recording events of the past or present but not of the future (*Ant.* 10: 10: 4).

Josephus also refers to John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18: 5: 2) and to “James the brother of Jesus who was called Christ” (*Ant.* 20: 9: 1). These passages are thought to be authentic. In connection with the reference to the Baptist he speaks of his death at the hands of Herod, and also concerning the significance of his baptism, but there is no word as to his work as forerunner of the Christ.





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